

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Massachusetts Historical Society.

VOL. III.—SECOND SERIES.

1886-1887.

Published at the Charge of the Peabody Fund.



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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Committee of Publication.

EDWARD J. YOUNG.

CLEMENT HUGH HILL.

ALEXANDER McKENZIE.

PREFACE.

IN the present volume will be found a record of the proceedings of the Society at its stated meetings, from June, 1886, to October, 1887, inclusive. Among the noteworthy papers which have been presented may be mentioned especially the report of a committee thoroughly exposing the audacious imposture which had deceived many prominent persons in other cities, and by which, with the aid of literary forgeries, it was sought to palm off upon the American people a fictitious likeness of Washington, and to displace the familiar one by Stuart. In consequence of this report, which was widely circulated, the attempt failed, and the author returned ignominiously to England. The reader will also find here the discussion and action of the Society with reference to the proposed erection by the State of a monument in honor of those who were killed in the affray which was subsequently known as the "Boston Massacre."

There are nine Memoirs included in this book,—those of the Hon. JOHN WELLES and the Rev. S. K. LOTHROP, D.D., by Dr. Peabody; that of the Hon. JOHN J. BABSON, by Mr. Smith; of the Hon. JAMES M. ROB-

BINS, by Mr. Wolcott; of CHARLES C. PERKINS, by Dr. Eliot; of the Hon. FRANCIS E. PARKER, by Mr. Bangs; of the Rev. NICHOLAS HOPPIN, D.D., by Dr. Oliver; of LUCIUS M. SARGENT, by Mr. Lowell; and that of the Hon. ALEXANDER H. BULLOCK, by Judge Devens.

The portraits which accompany the Memoirs are, in every instance, gifts to the Society. Those of Dr. Lothrop, Mr. Perkins, and Governor Bullock have been kindly contributed by their families; and that of Mr. Parker has been furnished by personal friends.¹

It is a gratifying fact that only one Resident Member has died since the issue of the last volume, — the Hon. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, whose public career and services are fitly commemorated in these pages.

One of the most interesting illustrations in this volume is the representation of the Group of Members, which stands as the frontispiece. It was originally taken on June 10, 1869, when, by invitation of the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, the Society met at his house in Brookline; and before the meeting was called to order, the members gathered on the steps and lawn in front of the house, and were photographed by J. W. Black, of Boston. Forty-six are depicted here; and of this number fifteen now survive, being less than one third of the company that were assembled. The following are the names of the gentlemen portrayed in the picture, beginning with the President and those standing nearest to him on either side, and ranging in lines from the centre to the left and right: —

¹ The same gentlemen have privately printed a separate Memorial, edited by Mr. R. C. Winthrop, Jr., which contains the tributes paid to Mr. Parker in this Society, and much additional matter; and it is there stated that Harvard College, Phillips Exeter Academy, and the Boston Provident Association have received more than one hundred and ten thousand dollars each, under Mr. Parker's will, and that these bequests are unrestricted.

ROBERT C. WINTHROP, *President.*

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WILLIAM G. BROOKS.

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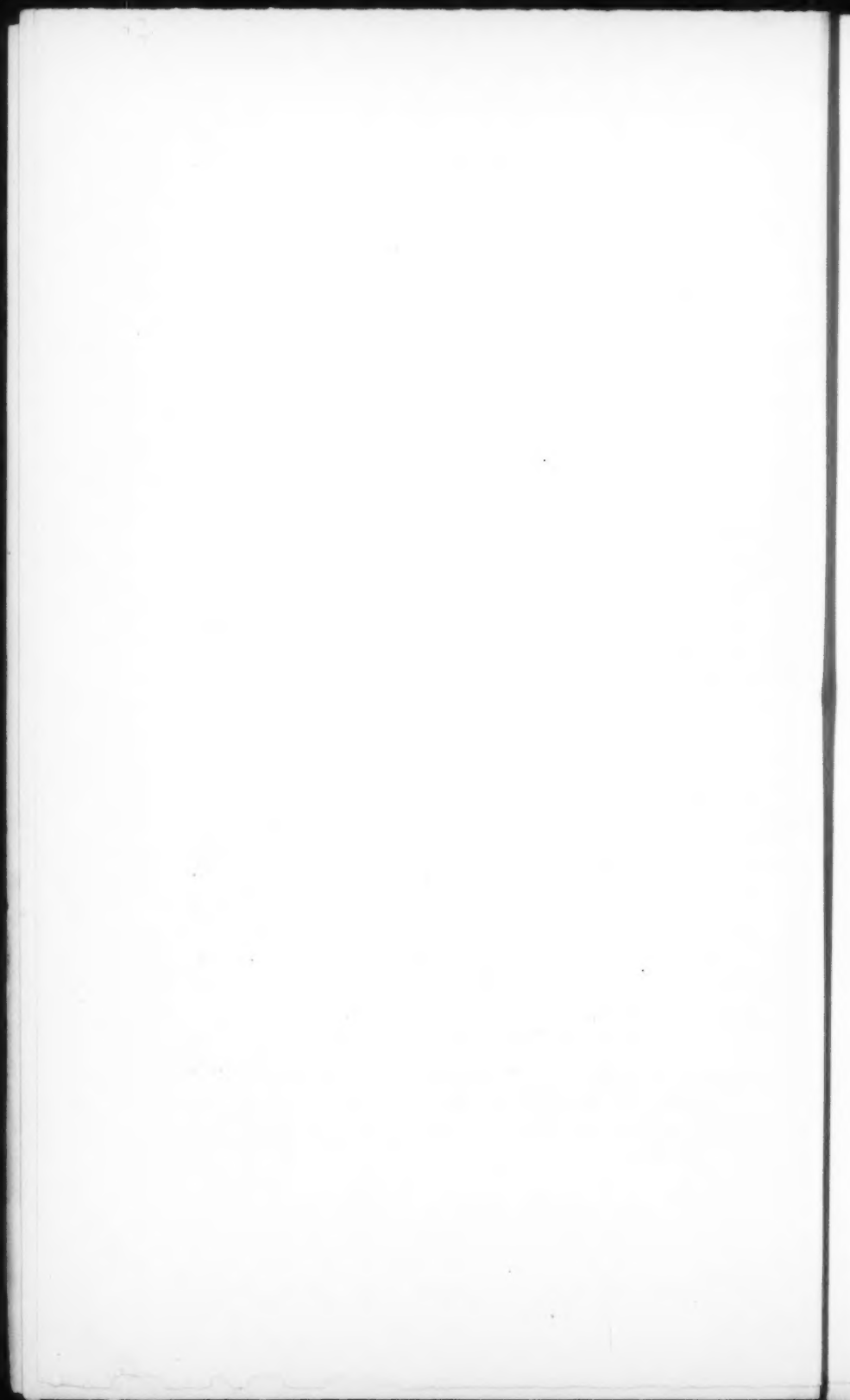
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SETH AMES.
THOMAS C. AMORY.

An earlier group, consisting of twenty-six members, and comprising some of the most distinguished men in the Commonwealth, was taken on May 17, 1855, and is prefixed to the second volume of Proceedings. Mr. Winthrop, Dr. Ellis, and Dr. Deane are the only ones of the living whose faces appear in both heliotypes.

EDWARD J. YOUNG.

CAMBRIDGE, February 1, 1888.



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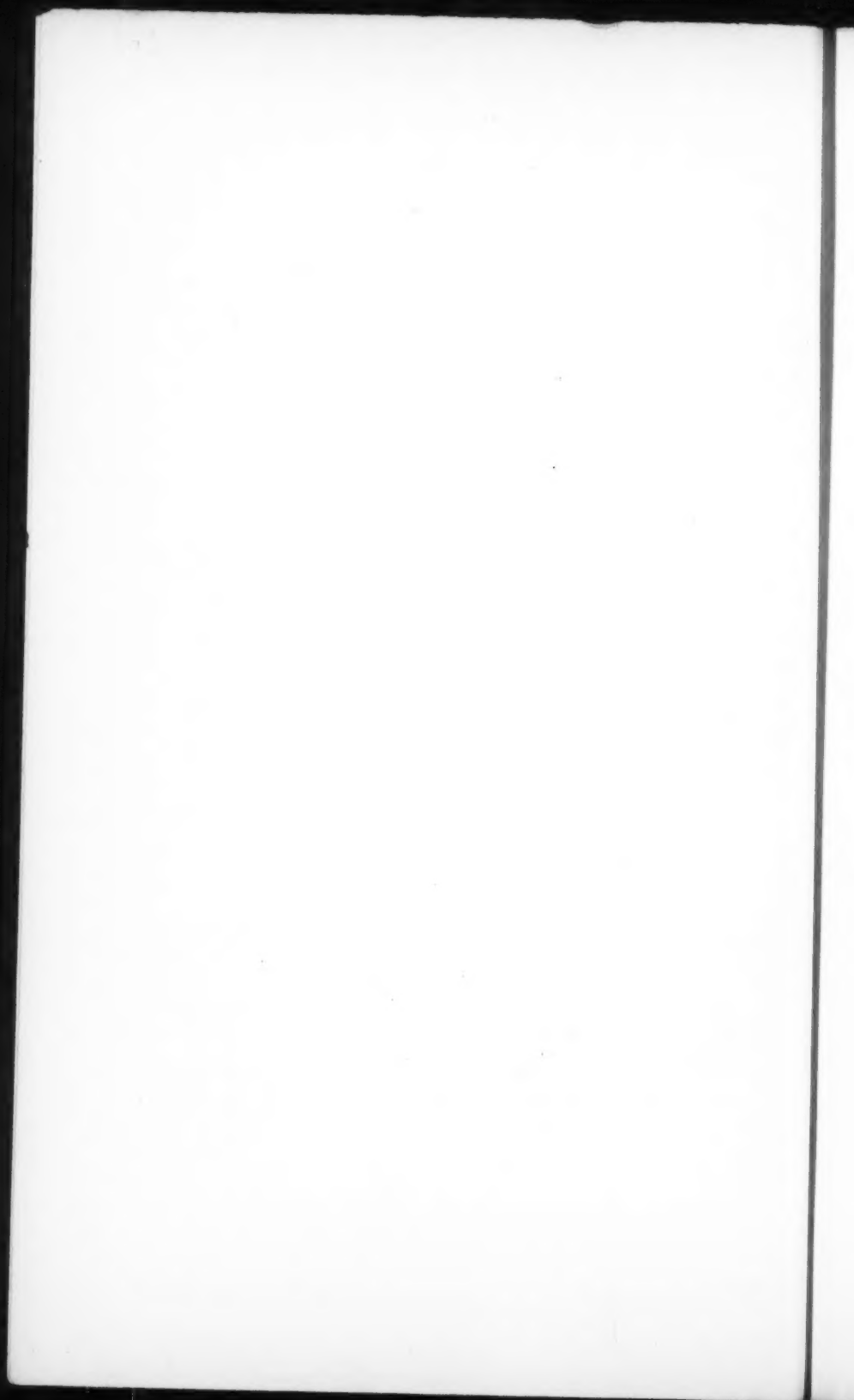
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OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ELECTED APRIL 14, 1887.

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MEMBERS DECEASED.

Members who have died, or of whose death the Society has heard, since the last volume of the Proceedings was issued, Oct. 1, 1886.

Resident.

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Honorary and Corresponding.

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Rt. Rev. William B. Stevens, D.D. J. Carson Brevoort, LL.D.

Benjamin F. French, Esq.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

JUNE MEETING, 1886.

THE regular meeting of the Society before the recess was held on Thursday, the 10th instant. The President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, occupied the chair; and, the Secretary's record having been read and the Librarian's report presented, he made the following address: —

Since our last meeting we have lost from our earlier roll of Honorary or Corresponding Members an honored and eminent associate, the Hon. John Russell Bartlett. He died at his home in Providence, May 23. Mr. Bartlett had held high official trusts under the Government of Rhode Island, as Secretary of State, and under the General Government as Commissioner on the boundary of Mexico. His fidelity, accuracy, and thoroughness of research and information on every subject of a public or private interest which engaged his mind and pen, made him a most trusted authority, and gave to his many published works a supreme value. He stood easily at the head of the ranks of the bibliographers of our country. As the accomplished and trusted adviser of Mr. John Carter Brown, and as the curator of his marvellously unique and precious library, of which he prepared the costly and richly illustrated catalogue, he won the grateful regards of all our historical students. Many of us, his associates, are indebted to him for personal favors, and will warmly cherish the remembrance of his affability, courtesy, and patient helpfulness.

The Committee charged with its preparation distribute among us to-day the first of the two proposed volumes to

contain the whole of the contents of Judge Sewall's Letter-Book. A glance through the pages will show, in the abounding and extended notes, what labor and research have been devoted to the volume by the editors, to whom we would offer our thanks.

It interests us to receive for our libraries a fourth volume of the collected Speeches and Addresses of our Emeritus President, the Hon. R. C. Winthrop. More than a half-century of oratory and scholarly, learned, patriotic, and philanthropic utterance, on signal and on interesting occasions, is recorded in the contents of these four volumes. Among the rich variety of themes, interspersed through the orations delivered as commemorative of the greatest events and men, more than half of the articles are associated with the members and meetings of this Society.

There lies upon the table a large volume filled with very interesting historical and biographical papers, in manuscript and in print, which has been committed to me as a gift for the Cabinet of the Society. It comes to us from a lady whose family pride and interest have engaged her industry, skill, and diligence for many years in making the collection. The donor is Mrs. Margaret Allen Elton, a lineal descendant of the distinguished Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, of Boston, the largest landowner in Maine in the Revolutionary times. She is the widow of Dr. Romeo Elton, Professor in Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. Dr. Gardiner was born in South Kingstown, Rhode Island, in 1707, and was the great-grandson of the first English emigrant of the name to this country. His education was aided by his brother-in-law, Dr. McSparran, of Narragansett, a church missionary of the English Society. For eight years he enjoyed rare opportunities in the study and practice of the medical profession in London and Paris. Coming to reside in Boston, he became an importer of drugs and medicines, of which he had in his warehouse a large and valuable collection, acquiring great wealth. It was affirmed that the strong Tory proclivities of a second wife, whom he had married at the outbreak of hostilities with the mother country, committed him to her side. He left Boston with the British army at the evacuation, in the hurry, confusion, and distress of the loyalists at the time, abandoning his property and effects. A letter of his in this volume, written from Halifax two months

after the wretched voyage, gives the most graphic account which I have seen of the direful miseries of the refugees and of their forlorn reception in Halifax. Of course his complaints over his proscription, ill-treatment, and the confiscation of his property are very bitter. On both sides of the ocean there has been a large variety of epithets attached to the name of Washington. Dr. Gardiner, in one of his letters, writes of him "that thief Washington." The explanation is as follows: The large collection of drugs and medicines which the refugee left here, became a subject of rival claims between the town and the province. But Washington interposed, and assigned them for the exigent necessities of the medical department of the army, glad to draw such good service from one of the class of Tories whom he detested.

Dr. Gardiner was an earnest member of the Church of England, and generously aided in the building of the stone King's Chapel. While his second son, William, sympathized with his father in politics and religion, his eldest son, John, took quite the opposite course. He was educated as a lawyer in England, and there warmly resisted the views and measures of the administration against the Colonies. He was an ardent supporter of John Wilkes. Returning here after the peace, he received citizenship by special bill. As if to emphasize his variance with his father, he was one of those concerned with Dr. Freeman in modifying the Book of Common Prayer for King's Chapel, where he worshipped. He, however, said he was willing at times to go to hear his son "Jack" preach. This "Jack" was the admired Dr. John Sylvester John Gardiner, Rector of Trinity Church.

Through some informality in the proceedings confiscating the landed estates of Dr. Gardiner, they were in large part recovered by the family. He returned to this country, and died at Newport in 1786, in his eightieth year. The volume contains many curious and some quite important papers. It is to be understood that the donor, Mrs. Elton, is still to have free access to the volume, and to copy from its contents at her pleasure.

It was voted that the thanks of the Society be given to Mrs. Elton for her gift.

Mr. DEANE offered a communication from the Rev. Edward D. Neill, of St. Paul, Minnesota, containing several extracts from the Records of Northampton County, Virginia, copied by Dr. Neill, in which occur the names of a number of persons from New England.

The Records of Northampton County, Virginia, from September, A.D. 1632, at the Court House in Eastville, are in a good state of preservation. The Monthly Court of Accawmacke, as Northampton was first called, met on the 16th of September, and was composed of Captain William Claiborne, Captain Thomas Graves, Captain Edmund Scaburg, Obedience Robins, gent., John How, gent., and Roger Sanders.

William Cotton, whose mother lived at Bunbury, Cheshire, England, and who was the minister, in February, 1633-4, complained to the court that Obedience Robins refused to serve warrants for the minister's tithes.

One Edward Drew preferred charges against Joane Butler, and under date of Sept. 8, 1634, is the following entry:—

"Upon dew examinaton it is thought fit by the board that sy'd Joane Butler shalbe drawn over the kings Crecke [King's Creek] at the starne of a boate or Canoux, . . . also the next Saboth day in the tyme of deuyne Seruis between the first and second lesson present herselfe before the minister, and say after him as followeth 'I Joane Butler doe acknowledge to haue called Marie Drew, hoare, and thereby I confess I haue dun her manifest wronge, wherefor I desire before this Congregation that y^e syd Marie Drew wil forgiue me, and alsoe that this congregaton will ioyne and pray with me, that God may forgiue me.'"

Captain John Stone, who behaved so badly at Boston and Plymouth, and was killed by the Pequods in the Connecticut River, while upon his return to Virginia, had an estate in Northampton County, and on the 15th of September, 1634, William Cotton, minister, made complaint that the administrator of Captain John Stone declined to pay tithes due.

John Winthrop, Jr., in a letter written April 30, 1631, published in the 5th Series, vol. viii. p. 31, Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, tells his father that a contract has been made with Capt. Claiborne, then in London, to bring grain to Boston from Virginia, "the ship that bringeth it w^{ch} is the Africa whereof Capt Cleyborne is commander. He & the m^cchants that set him out offer us to bring what corne we will for fish."

Certain questions asked by the Monthly Court of Richard Thompson, dated May 4, 1635, show where the "Africa" traded for corn and

beaver. The Court asked: "Were you, Richard Thompson, with Capt William Clayborne in the ship called the Affryca at the post of Susquehanna in the Bay of Chesepioque about September, and in the year 1631?" Thompson answered that he was not in the ship, but in a boat at the said post "a littell before the fall of y^e leafe," and that Captain Clayborne did there trade with the Indians.

Charles Harmar, a brother of John Harmar, the celebrated Greek scholar,¹ and professor at Oxford University, was a planter in Accomac, trader among the Indians, and in 1635 entered lands for certain white servants, and eight negroes transported by him.

In September, 1635, the minister, William Cotton, asks for a parsonage, and up to that time there had been no formal church vestry. The vestry then organized were Capt. Thomas Graves, Obedience Robins, John How, William Stone, afterwards Governor of Maryland, William Burdett, William Andrews, John Wilkins, Alexander Mounteney, Edmund Drew, William Berriman, and Stephen Charlton.

The parsonage was ordered to be built, the first of which we have any account in Virginia. It was to be of wood, 40 feet wide, and 18 deep, and 9 feet to the valley, with a chimney at each end, and upon each side of the chimneys a room, "one for a study," and the other for a "buttery," with an entry near the middle of the house.

Lady Dale's plantation was kept up as late as 1636, and it was reported that her servants were "in want of clothing."

A William Smith, whose will was dated April 23, 1636, left one hundred pounds of tobacco to William Cotton for a funeral sermon; and in August Elizabeth, the widow of Sir Thomas Dale sent over an order for the sale of some of her cattle.

John Rozier, "minister of Gods word," succeeded William Cotton, who in 1640 died.

Sir William Berkeley, on April 10, 1652, when he was retired from office, sends to Colonel Nathaniel Littleton, of Accomac, the following note:—

I pray vpon sight hereof deliuer vnto M^r Edm. Scarburgh Towe of yo^r best Ewe Lambs w^{ch} I haue given him for his Daughters Tabitha & Matilda, charge y^e Same to Acco^t for

yo^r Llovinge friende

WILLIAM BERKELEY.

There were now two parishes; and Thomas Higby was minister of the Lower parish, and Thomas Teagle of the Upper.

Governor Stone, since A.D. 1649 of Maryland, sells his house at Hungars' Creek to Captain William Whittington.

¹ Dr. Harmar translated the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism into Greek and Latin. Upon the restoration of monarchy, he lost his place at Oxford.

Colonel Edmund Scarburgh, or Scarborough, was one of the prominent men of the eastern shore of the Chesapeake Bay, a royalist in his sympathies, by vocation a merchant, and in his intercourse with men high-handed and intolerant. His course toward the captain of a New England vessel in 1651 was so outrageous that Colonel Obedience Robins entered the following protest, which appears in the records as follows:—

"Capt. John Jacob a High Germayne of Frankendall, in the palatinate, who in y^e yeare 1651, engaged to y^e State of England & Imbarked himselfe thence in a London or New England shipp whereof Capt Rich Thurston was comand', and with a goode quantitie of English goods came to New England. And thence with M^r Cuttin into Seuerne, & returned to New England with Jn^o Bennett vnto Boston in New England & by unfailable testimony, imployed into Virginia againe by M^r Sam^l Mauricke, M^r Robert Knight, and M^r Nath^l Gardner, three¹ principall m^cchantes liuinge in Boston in New England came vnto mee, and complayned that beinge in a New England vessell belonginge vnto aboute M^r Robert Knight at Nomani in patowmacke Riuer att Anker in a small creeke aground there, came a vessell called y^e Hobby horse belonging vnto & sett forth by Left Coll Edm. Scarburgh wth eight armed men; and in his absence did seize his vessel as they s^d for the State of England.

"Towe [two] of his men being aboard. And hee about half an Houre after came on board, and finding there five men armed hee demanded their intent; they answered they seized the vessel & goods for y^e State of England wherevpon hee asked them, if they had a Comission soe to doe, they anser^d they had a commission, then he desired to see it, they replied he should see it, then he s^d not only his vessel but his Body alsoe was readdy to doe y^e State seruice, but afterward Hee tould them, that if they came to take any vessell without a commission, they were pirate wherevpon they grew to hard words & one of them presented a pistoll att him, And as he psented itt afterward confessed, had not his Mayster, Mark Magge stept between them, hee had shott him; hee seeing a pistol cockt att him stept into y^e cabbín & fetched out a gun & towe of y^e men took hold of y^e gun until y^e then named Richard Wayman strooke him with y^e butt end of his gun & very sore wounded him, the other, wth his pistoll cockt, ready to fyre vpon him. And soe, violently carryed away his vessell & disposed of his goodes at their pleasure. And when he desired them to lett y^e goods alone, they tould him, hee had a knocke vpon one side of his head already & if hee would not bee quiett, they would knock his brayne out on y^e other side. Hee therefore desired mee to goe with him, and ptest ag^t their proceedynges: his own vessell being brought into ou^r Harbour, and the stearne of the

¹ Notices of these may be found in Savage's Dictionary.

shipp Speedwell of Bristoll, Capten peter Wraxall being comander thereof, who had giuen a coppie of his commission from y^e Admiraltye of England, vnto Left. Coll. Edm. Scarburgh. By w^{ch} power hee sett forth his Hobby Horse, and the 26th daye of this instant moneth I went aboard y^e aforesaid ship Speedwell And in the name of the Keeper of the Lib^{ry} of England, by authority of Parlm^t did require of M^r Dauis Mayster's Mate of y^e shipp, the s^d vessell & goods to be deliuerd vnto mee and y^e Capt. Jno Jacob, And hee y^e s^d William Dauis replied and anso^r^{de} that hee had orders from Capt. Wraxall not to deliuer her vnto any person or persons whatsoever & vntil he had further orders he would not."

Mark Magge Master of the Hobby Horse during the investigation, deposed that he came down from Ockahannock, where Scarburgh lived, and found the New England vessel by the Mills. That after they anchored near the Bristol ship Argall Yeardly, Obedience Robins, Captain John Stringer, and Mr. Lamberton came aboard, and as they were leaving the chirurgeon did damn the mate, and said that he had a horse at home, and thought of bringing it with him, but "he was afraid they would then make him a Colonel, a Major, or Justice of the Peace," and the surgeon further declared that "most all of them were rogues, or whores, or vagabonds, or thieves, or beggars and many other scandalous names."

There were a number of Dutch and German settlers in the county, and in the deposition of Sarah, wife of John Hinman there is evidence that Drisius, the Reformed minister at Manhattan, occasionally preached to them. In May, 1654, she testified that "the last Saboth M^r Drisius preached here, this deponent, her husband and daughter went to Richard Jacobs" house, and there heard that the wife of Daniel Sellick, merchant, had committed a great sin. Her name was Susanna, and after the death of Sellick, who had lived in Boston, she became the wife of Robert Tilman.

Edward Gibons (also written Gibbons), to whom Cecil, the second Lord Baltimore, tendered the commission of Admiral of Maryland, wrote to Colonel Edmund Scarborough, with whom he had commercial transactions, as follows:—

Boston the 9th of ye fifth moneth 1654.

SIR, — I hearinge of y^e arriuall, though I heare yo^a are offended wth mee, yet at this distance I craue Libertye to kis yo^r hand & desire god to take possession of y^r heart & bid you a welcome to gether: S^r I shall saye nothinge for present But about Strangridge who spitts fowlely & unjustice agst mee, as you can testifie, For you made upp ou^r Acco^{ts} by ou^r consente and subscribed it. And hee owed mee neare Two hundred pounde And would make yo^a paye agayne, what I paid him for yo^a; S^r good ice not very plentifull here. I saye no more, but am

Yo^r friend (though poore)

EDWARD GIBONS.

Mr. DENNY alluded to the manufacture of silk in Nantucket half a century ago, and presented from Mrs. Martha Washington Jenks, who was formerly of Nantucket and is now eighty-five years old, a seal of the Atlantic Silk Company, and a diploma which it received from the Mechanics' Institute of New York in 1836 for specimens of silk and silk culture.

Dr. CHANNING presented photographs of the flag which was once carried by the Harvard Washington Corps of Cambridge, and was found recently in the rooms of the Porcellian Club in the college.

Mr. PORTER laid on the table circulars issued by a committee of the Lexington Historical Society for the purpose of obtaining means to purchase a large painting of the battle of Lexington, executed by Mr. Henry Sandham. The picture is regarded as one of great merit, and the price of it is four thousand dollars.

The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP then said : —

At the Corcoran Gallery of Art, during my late visit to Washington, I found in the Curator's Room, where it had been placed for exhibition and sale, a very interesting historical portrait. It was the portrait of Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, who was president of the Continental Congress from November, 1777, to December, 1778, and who, while on his way to Holland as our Minister Plenipotentiary, was captured by Commodore Keppel, afterwards Lord Albemarle, and imprisoned in the Tower of London for fourteen months. The portrait purports to have been painted by Copley in the Tower, during this imprisonment, in 1781. It had been sent to this country by the executors of the late Henry Stevens; and it has, I trust, been purchased ere this for the Corcoran Gallery, or by the Library Committee of Congress. Such a portrait ought certainly not to be lost to the collections at Washington. Finding it so casually, — still seeking a purchaser and liable to be caught up by some private hand, — I was impressed anew with an idea which occurred to me forcibly many years ago. I refer to the establishment of a National Portrait Gallery at Washington, where the history of our country should be illustrated by a series of the likenesses of those who have been eminent in its civil or military service, or in scientific or literary labors, from our earliest colonial period, or certainly from our

constitutional era. Something has already been done in this line. The successive Presidents have been painted for the Executive Mansion, and at least four of their wives have found places there also; and the various Executive Departments are already crowded with portraits of the Secretaries who have successively administered them. A beginning has been made, too, in procuring portraits of the presiding officers of the two Houses of Congress. But it is obvious that this course of things cannot go on much longer. The walls of the Executive Mansion will not accommodate many more Presidents, nor those of the Departments many more Secretaries. Even the corridors of the Capitol will afford room for but few more pictures. Meanwhile there is no good light in any of these places for the exhibition even of the portraits already procured.

A grand National Historical Portrait Gallery, in which these scattered pictures should be systematically collected and arranged, is the natural and necessary relief for the present state of things, and would form one of the most interesting and attractive features of Washington.

I remember being taken by Lord Stanhope many years ago to see the very first beginnings of the National Portrait Gallery of London, when he, who was peculiarly its founder, had collected only twenty or thirty portraits. There are now many hundreds, I had almost said thousands, in the galleries at Kensington; and the whole history of England since the fine arts had a foothold there, is being gradually displayed upon the walls of that institution.

Such an institution would add greatly to the attractions of Washington, which has now become one of the most beautiful capitals of the world, and at the same time would do not a little for art and for history.

But I designed only to make mention of the discovery of the notable portrait of Henry Laurens, one of the most interesting Southern characters in our Revolution, the father of the even more interesting John Laurens, who fell so sadly in a skirmish after performing prodigies of valor at Yorktown, and of whom the father said, on hearing of his death, "I thank God I had a son who dared to die for his country."

I may add that the portrait was painted for Thomas Hollis, one of the benefactors of Harvard College, and hung for a century in the hall of the family mansion of the Hollises,—

"The Hyde," near Ingatestone, Essex, which was of late years the residence of our former Corresponding Member, John Disney.

Mr. UPHAM called attention to a volume of early court files, containing papers of the various courts held in the county of Suffolk. This collection, which had been placed in his charge by the clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court, comprises about one hundred and fifty thousand manuscripts of great value to students of history and genealogy. The papers from 1629 to 1729 have been arranged in exact chronological order; they are about fifty thousand in number, and will fill about one hundred and fifty volumes.

The PRESIDENT announced from the Council that the meetings in July, August, and September would be omitted, but that a special meeting, if necessary, might be called by the President and Secretary.

SPECIAL MEETING, JUNE, 1886.

A Social Meeting of the Society was held at the house of Mr. Charles Deane, in Cambridge, on Friday, the 18th instant, at five o'clock, P.M. The meeting was called to order by the President, the Rev. Dr. ELLIS, who invited Mr. Deane to make any communication he might have for the Society.

Mr. DEANE, after a few words of welcome to the members as his guests on this occasion, proceeded, —

I wish, Mr. President, to communicate to the Society for its Library several letters of Dr. Joseph Priestley written during the years 1798, 1799, and 1800, while he was living in Northumberland, Pennsylvania; and in doing so, I will add a single word relating to the distinguished gentleman to whom the letters were addressed, — the Hon. George Thacher. He was at this time a member of Congress from the District of Maine. His home was in Biddeford, on the banks of the Saco, then a beautiful and romantic village where I myself was born, and where our respective families were on terms of intimacy for many years. As a boy I remember him as one advanced in years. Judge Thacher had been a delegate to the old Congress. In 1801, having accepted the appointment of Judge of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, — a position he held till 1824, — he resigned his seat in Congress. He died on the 6th of April in the last-named year. Judge Thacher was a man of the highest character for probity and intelligence. He was a great reader, was particularly versed in polemical and theological disquisition, and was celebrated for his wit. He was a staunch Federalist in politics, but was attracted to Dr. Priestley by his advanced religious opinions and by his metaphysical writings, and doubtless also by his high character.

Of Dr. Priestley himself I can add nothing not already known. His life, his writings, his discoveries, and his character are before the world. Attracted to the United States by a love of her institutions, and driven from his own country for

his sympathies with the oppressed, his feelings naturally underwent a revulsion when he found himself, after a few years, an object of marked suspicion by the Federal party, and in danger of being subject to the operation of the alien and sedition law. These letters occasionally disclose his opinions on politics; but they inform us more particularly as to the employment of his time in preparing for the press the results of his studies in history, theology, and science.

In the summer of 1874 was celebrated at Northumberland what was called the "Centennial of Chemistry;" and hoping to add something to the interest of the occasion, I lent these letters to my friend and neighbor Professor E. N. Horsford, who on the second day's proceedings — "Oxygen Day" — read them to the assembly; and consent was afterwards given that copies might be taken for publication.

The letters were intrusted to me several years ago by a connection of Judge Thacher's family, with the understanding that I should ultimately place them in some suitable public depository. Before doing so, I had designed to suitably annotate them and print them, having myself a great admiration of Dr. Priestley's character. To these letters I will add transcripts of a few others furnished me by my friends. My brother Waterston and my friend Charles P. Greenough have contributed five, making nineteen in all. I have never found time to do what I have said I had intended with these letters, and I now submit them to the Society and permanently deposit them in its archives.

Mr. DEANE then read several extracts from these letters, and an interesting discussion followed.

Judge CHAMBERLAIN stated that he had in his possession four letters of Priestley, which had been rescued from a pedler's cart while on their way to a paper-mill.

Dr. OLIVER said that he had three letters which he would place at the disposal of the Publishing Committee.

Dr. CLARKE added that he had two letters, one of Priestley, addressed to Dr. Freeman, and one of Thacher about Priestley, which might be printed at the same time with the others.

Dr. PAIGE and Dr. PEABODY related characteristic incidents concerning Judge Thacher, and Dr. ELLIS spoke of Dr. Priestley.

The letters above referred to, together with three others which have been furnished by Mr. Alfred D. Foster, of this city, are here appended, arranged in chronological order. They are all addressed to "George Thacher,¹ Member of Congress, Philadelphia," or "Biddeford," unless otherwise stated.

SIR, — I think myself exceedingly obliged to you, for the communication of your excellent observations on the cause of the electricity of the atmosphere. As far as I can judge of them from the general ideas you throw out, they promise to unfold that great secret of nature which has hitherto been one of the great desiderata in philosophy. I shall be very glad to see your thoughts on this subject more at large.

I have read your *Essay on Comets* with attention and pleasure. My objection, however, to your theory is, that the atmosphere of the comets

¹ Judge Thacher's name in these letters appears with two "t's," as the Judge himself for many years was accustomed to write it. During the latter part of his life, however, he used only one "t," being convinced that this was the correct orthography. In the Reports of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, both modes of spelling prevail. A letter to the Recording Secretary of this Society from Mr. Peter Thacher, of Boston, contains the following statement:—

"Hon. George Thacher, fourth in descent from Antony, was born at Yarmouth, April 12, 1754. He graduated at Harvard in 1776, in the same class with Governor Gore and Chief Justice Samuel Sewall. He first commenced the practice of law at York, Maine, where he remained but a brief period. He removed to Biddeford, Maine, in 1782, succeeding to the business of Governor Sullivan. Here he practised his profession with great success for many years. In 1778 he was elected by the Legislature one of the delegates of Massachusetts to the National Congress. In November, 1794, he was elected a representative to Congress from the County of York, and was thrice re-elected to that office. March 5, 1801, he was appointed a Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, by Governor Strong. On the separation of Maine from Massachusetts, in 1820, he removed to Newburyport, where he continued to reside till he resigned his office, January 1, 1824, soon after which he returned to Biddeford, and there died, April 6, 1824.

"Up to the latter part of 1809, he had uniformly spelled his name 'Thatcher.' But investigation led him to the conclusion that this was an incorrect mode of spelling his name, and about the beginning of 1810 he dropped the second 't,' and ever afterwards spelled his name 'Thacher.' His quarterly receipts at the State House for his salary as Judge, during all the years from 1809 to his resignation in 1824, have been personally examined by your correspondent, as has also his letter of resignation to Governor Eustis; and without any exception the signature to these papers is written 'Thacher.' I have also seen several letters written by him from 1816 to 1821, inclusive, in which the same spelling of his name is used.

"In regard to his religious opinions, it is stated in Folsom's History of Saco and Biddeford, in substance, that while he was untrammelled by the tenets of sects and fond of polemics, he was a believer in the Christian faith and a devout member of a Christian Church." — Eds.

being of the same nature with those of the sun and other heavenly bodies, the particles of which they consist will not be repelled by them more than by each other; so that upon their approach, they will only surround the two bodies to an equal distance. How could the atmosphere of the sun, for instance, drive that of a comet to such a distance, when no part of that of the sun itself is driven by the same power to a tenth part of the distance? But I think your hypothesis will stand clear of this objection, if you suppose, what I believe to be true, that the sun and the comets, as well as the earth, have *proper electric atmospheres*, by means of which they will be enabled to act upon their ordinary atmospheres at a considerable distance.

I rejoice much that philosophical knowledge is so much cultivated on your side of the Atlantic, and sorry I am that our attention to it will probably be called off to a struggle for power, the most unnatural and I fear the most fatal that men were ever engaged in.

I have of late been very much engaged in the prosecution of my experiments on different kinds of *air* and have had considerable success. I intend soon to publish a *Supplement* to the treatise which you very probably have heard that I have lately published on that subject. If there be any intercourse between the two countries at that time, I shall send you a copy, and shall be exceedingly glad to hear from you.

I am with great respect, Sir,

Your obliged humble servant,

J. PRIESTLEY.¹

HON. ANDREW OLIVER, JR., Salem, Massachusetts.

LONDON, 12 Feb. 1775.

P. S. L'd Shelburne desires me to present his most respectful complements to you.

¹ Joseph Priestley was born at Fieldhead, in Yorkshire, England, March 13, 1733. He entered the ministry in 1755, was a pastor for several years in Leeds and Birmingham, and to the end of his life was devoted to his profession. In 1766 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and received the degree of LL.D. from the University of Edinburgh. On the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille, in 1791, a mob in Birmingham burned the meeting-house in which he preached, broke into his dwelling-house, and destroyed his library, manuscripts, and philosophical apparatus. In 1794 he came to this country, and took up his residence in Northumberland, Pennsylvania, where he died Feb. 6, 1804. His eulogy was pronounced before the French Institute by Cuvier. On August 1, 1874, a centennial celebration of the discovery of Oxygen took place in Birmingham, during which a statue of Priestley was unveiled; and a statue of him had previously been placed in the Museum of the University of Oxford in 1860. His theological and miscellaneous works fill twenty-five octavo volumes, and show his marvellous versatility and industry. The great variety of investigations in which he was engaged is pleasantly described in a *jeu d'esprit* by Mrs. Barbauld, under the title, "An Inventory of the Furniture in Dr. Priestley's Study." He wrote a biography of himself to the year 1795, which was continued to the time of his decease by his son. — EDS.

DEAR SIR, — I am desired by one Mr. Coghill a gentleman of Ireland to enquire whether you are willing to undertake the education of his son, who is between eleven and twelve years of age. I told him that I believed your terms were fifty pounds and to this he made no objection. I must beg the favor of an answer as soon as may be convenient.

I am sorry to find that you have lost Mr. Simpson as I am afraid you will not easily find another assistant so very agreeable. I wish much to see you, but that is a satisfaction I must despair of, unless it should, now and then, suit you to come to London when I am here. Pray what are you about? I know you cannot be idle any more than myself. Your spherics will do you great honor. I intend to make use of them in teaching Lord Fitzmaurice. And shall be much obliged to you if you would tell me what treatise of *conic sections* is the most proper for teaching, to one who will never make much of a mathematician but must have a general knowledge of all the branches of mathematics.

I would not omit this opportunity of sending you some *news* if I had any; but I hear nothing but reports and conjectures. It appears to me quite uncertain whether France has entered into any treaty of alliance with America, or not. General Howe, I believe, is coming home and Clinton will take the command. The Americans are in great spirits, and it is said are determined to attack the army at Philadelphia. The Ministers here are certainly in great distress. Lord North however has got the money he wanted from the Dutch and opens his budget on Wednesday next, and it is supposed the parliament will rise about Easter.

I am with very best respects to Mrs. Walker,

Dear Sir, yours sincerely,

J. PRIESTLEY.

LONDON, 2 March, 1778.

[Addressed, "The Rev. Mr. G. Walker,
Nottingham."]

DEAR SIR, — I recollect that the property of my *English Grammar* is not in myself, but the booksellers into whose hands it came on the bankruptcy of Mr. Johnson. He however has a store, and I have written to him, desiring that he would get your leave to print your edition. If you do not hear from him in a post or two, please to write to him yourself on the subject. It will be time enough to send you my *letter* to print with it, after the work is in the press. I did not give much attention to what you wrote on the subject; but I am confident I shall approve of anything that you shall do with respect to it.

I thank you for your *Communication* for the *Repository*, and shall insert it in the next number. As I have heard nothing from [name illegible] lately, I take it for granted that he is offended, and will contribute nothing more. There is no keeping on any terms with such people.

I thank you for your hint respecting my *large work*. Depend upon it I shall spare neith[er] *labour*, *expence*, or *time* in completing it. I shall probably begin to print in about six months.

I am glad to find by Mr. Tramblett that your future labour in teaching will be rendered easier without being less advantageous to you.

I am with every good wish in much haste,

Dear Sir, yours sincerely,

BIRM. 6 Jan. 1785.

J. PRIESTLEY.

[Addressed, "The Rev. Mr. Butland,
Exeter."]

SIR, — I hope you received a letter I wrote to you by Mr. Humphys of Birmingham, who is gone to settle in your country. This will be delivered by one of my own sons, who are following them. If they get a tolerable settlement with you, I propose to join them, and end my days with you. If I had not been so comfortably settled as I am, my library and philosophical apparatus nearly replaced, I should have accompanied them. Such is the increasing spirit of bigotry, bordering on that of persecution, that it is really very unpleasant and almost unsafe, for any persons who distinguish themselves for the freedom of their opinions, on political or religious subjects, to continue in it, and it seems to be the wish of the Court, and of the country in general, to drive us out of it. The number that, on this account, wish to go is hardly credible.

We have been alarmed with the apprehension of a rupture with your country but I hope there is wisdom enough with you, though not with us, to prevent it.

Wishing well to both countries, I am, Sir, yours sincerely,

J. PRIESTLEY.

CLAPTON, Aug. 21, 1793.

NORTHUMBERLAND, Aug. 25, 1794.

DEAR SIR, — I have now engaged a piece of ground on which to build a house, where I may pursue my studies without attending to anything else. For this purpose I want all my *packages* as soon as may be. My son will take measures with you for the purpose.

By what I hear in this place the affairs in the western counties wear a more serious aspect than you in Philadelphia are aware of. I fear a

civil war, and then I shall have got out of the frying pan into the fire. Would it not be better to give them up entirely rather than use compulsion, which may terminate as the war between Great Britain and this country, after doing much more mischief? Would not a tax on all lands cultivated or not be the fairest to satisfy all parties and prevent that monopoly by speculators that is so much complained of. Then upon lands reverting [to] the State the real settlers would have them on better terms. But I am no politician, I only wish the peace & welfare of the country I am come into.

Yours in haste, most sincerely,

J. PRIESTLEY.

P. S. I shall not dispose of my shares in the Navigation at so great a loss, but rather borrow money, if I can, to build my house, &c.

[Addressed, "John Vaughan, Esq.,
Philadelphia."]

DEAR SIR, — I trouble you with my letters and commissions because they cost you nothing. The inclosed I wish you would take to Mr. Dobson, and tell him I shall be much obliged to him if he will print it in a quarter of a sheet, and insert it in the copies of my last *Discourses*, sending a number to England, and a few to myself hither. I write them in consequence of some objections that I find, by letters from England, are still made to the authenticity of Daniel.

I am very busy about my *Exposition of the New Testament*, and shall soon have recomposed what was lost at the riots. But as to the *printing* of this work, or my *Church History*, I must wait better times, or till I shall be able to supply the expence myself, which I shall do as soon as I shall be able. My other work on the *Institutions of Moses and other antient systems*, must also wait a while, though it is ready for the press. As this, however, is only one volume, I do not despair, with Mr Russell's assistance, to get it printed this summer.

I shall be glad to hear from you, and am,

Dear Sir, yours sincerely,

J. PRIESTLEY.

NORTHUMBERLAND, March 1, 1798.

P. S. I shall be obliged to you if you be so good as to correct the press.

J. Priestley will thank Mr. Thatcher when he sees Mr. Leishman of the Unitarian Society — to inform that J. P. will write to him in the course of 10 days.

NORTHUMBERLAND, March 10, 1798.

DEAR SIR, — If Mr. Dobson do not print himself, he can get the work done by another; and as he has the property of the *Discourses*, I did not imagine that he would have hesitated to be at a very small additional expence to make them more perfect. My bookseller in London, who was no printer, was always thankful for such improvements. If he still refuses, please to return the MS, and I will copy it and send it to London. I should prefer doing it here, because the conveyance of any thing to England must at this time be uncertain.

On second thoughts, I wish, in case of Mr Dobson's refusal, you would desire *Mr. Gales* to do it. I want only *fifty copies* for my friends; and please to take one yourself. Tell Mr. Gales I have received his letter, and am satisfied with what he has done. He will understand you.

Mr. Cooper of this place is in Philadelphia, and to be heard of at Mr Vaughan's, I shall take it as a favour if you will give him the inclosed paper.

I shall soon have transcribed my *Exposition of the New Testament*, as it stood before the riots; but as it was intended for a common congregation, though an intelligent one, I left out the *Revelation*. Having here abundant leisure, I think to do it also in the best manner that I can. It will make the work more complete.

I find that I cannot print any thing more at present in this country. I must wait better times, or send my MSS to England, when there shall be *peace*. But when will that be? I really think the present war will not end without the downfal of all the European monarchies, that of England (one of the horns of the beast) included.

I thank you for your endeavour to vindicate the Unitarians. My son says he believes the attack was from Mr. Abercrombie.

I am much concerned at the late news from France, and though a well wisher to the cause of that country, I shall very sensibly feel any injury done to England, or to America. I hope your resolves in Congress will be temperate. I wish I could make you all *Quakers* till the end of the Session.

Will you be so good as to inquire and inform me whether there be a glass house at Wales [or at] Kensington. I heard there was to be one.

With every good wish I am,

Dear Sir, yours sincerely,

J. PRIESTLEY.

DEAR SIR, — Knowing how much your time must be taken up, I ought not to trouble you as I do. I return the Paper corrected. My Copy of Josephus is *Whiston's Translation*, and the quotation right.

The Original I lost at the riots. As I find Mr. Dobson will not be at the expense of printing this Paper, take only 50 copies, and inclose six to *The Rev^d Mr Lindsey, Essex Street, London*, and six more, by another ship, to the *Rev^d Mr. Belsham, Hackney near London*. Keep what number you like, and give Mr. Dobson a few for those of my friends who have the work in Philadelphia, and send the rest to me by Mr. Vaughan.

I have finished, and transcribed, my Exposition of the *Revelation*, and have made some progress on that of *Daniel*.

The French, whose successes, like those of the Romans, appear to have made them, as they were at the time of Jugurtha, equally void of fear or shame, want to bully you out of a sum of money, but I do not think they will seriously go to war with you. I should think that suspending all intercourse with them [if] they knew themselves better, would best answer your purpose. They cannot hurt you here, and if the merchants will trust their property at sea, let it be at their own risk, and not involve the country. The consumer will pay, and much less so, and more equally, than by any tax for defence. This conduct of the French does not affect the *Constitution*, which does not differ essentially from that of this country nor the people at large. It is only the character of the people now in office who may change tomorrow; as it is to be hoped they will soon.

But if I meddle with your *Politicks*, I shall be more abused by P. Porcupine¹ than I am. I had hoped that living quietly, in a country to which I had always been a zealous friend, I might have been quiet in it. But the friends of your revolution are not so much in vogue at present as the old Tories, as far as I can see.

With every good wish to you and the country, I am

Dear Sir, yours sincerely,

J. PRIESTLEY.

NORTHUMBERLAND, Ap^l 19, 1798.

P. S. Please to send me a few copies of the printed Paper in a letter.

NORTHUMBERLAND, May 10, 1798.

DEAR SIR, — I thank you for your attention to my paper on *Daniel*, and wish you would send the number of copies that you have proposed to my Friends in England. I find by a letter just received from London, that they are under no apprehension about an invasion, but I think

¹ William Cobbett, of England, came to the United States in 1792 and settled in Philadelphia, where he edited a paper called "Peter Porcupine's Gazette." He afterwards published in London the "Works of Peter Porcupine" in twelve volumes, which had a very extensive sale. — Eds.

they make themselves too secure. Whether there be peace or war, there must be a revolution in that country.

The unanimity you speak of in this country does not exist in this neighbourhood. The gentry, indeed, are generally with you, but the lower classes those, who must take the field, had rather fight the English than the French. They do not so soon change their sentiments and habits as their superiors.

I have lately received from England an ingenious pamphlet of *O Tenors*, intitled *Thoughts on national insanity*, which, if you wish to see it, I will send you. I think it will suit this country as well as England. Guided by passion, more than reason, you are, I fear, going to bring a scourge upon yourselves. But it seems to be the method of providence to discipline, and ultimately improve, the world by the follies and consequent sufferings of men.

The post that brought me your last brought the inclosed which please to return. A great number of such letters I used to receive in England, and I have had some here.

Yours sincerely,

J. PRIESTLEY.

P. S. I have finished my Exposition of *Daniel* as well as the *Revelation*, and intend, at my leisure, of which I have abundance here, to go through the whole of the Old Testament.

While you are about to combat the French on the field, and on the sea, I am fighting them in the *laboratory*. I have no doubt now of demolishing their boasted new system of Chemistry.

NORTHUMBERLAND, May 31, 1798.

DEAR SIR, — My work is completely ready for the press, but my funds are not yet sufficiently ready, or explored, to begin the printing immediately. I have finished my *Remarks on Mr. Depuis's* elaborate work, and think to annex it to the other. Shewing a part of it to Mr. Aaron Levi, a Jew who has property in this place, he seemed much pleased with it, and said that he and his friends he hoped would undertake to print it. I am to draw out a general account of it to shew to his friends, and shall hear from him again on the subject. If they undertake it, he talked of employing a printer he did not name, who he said would do it cheap and well. I shall shew him Mr. Gales's terms, and get them to employ him if I can. Mr. Levi has farther invited me to be his guest while the work is in the press. If this take place, it will be sometime next winter; when I shall hope to have the pleasure of seeing you, if your new *alien bill* do not confine me, or send me out of the country. I have always been reckoned a dangerous man.

I have made the computation you desired of my *Exposition of the*

New Testament, and find that what I have written will make *four volumes* 8^{vo}, of 400 pages each, printed like the third edition of my *Observations on the Increase of Infidelity*, which is as close as is convenient. But as I wish to print along with it *A corrected Translation of the books*, the work will consist of *five volumes*. I would prefer my Notes on *Daniel* to those on the *Revelation*, on account of their mutually illustrating each other. But as there will be no demand for anything of the kind, especially in such times as you are preparing for us, it will be most advisable to suspend everything of theology till we have some prospect of *peace*, and this I fear is at a great distance. In the mean time, as I have abundant leisure, and nothing gives me so much satisfaction as the study of the scriptures, I shall continue my Exposition, whether any public use be ever made of it or not. I shall also employ myself in my laboratory; and as my present object there is *hostility to the French*, I think you ought to supply me with Saltpetre for my gunpowder out of your Arsenal.

It does not become an *alien* to say much about Politicks, especially in these dangerous times; but I should think that, much as you may approve the measures of your President, you must begin to think that his language is too close of copy of that of Mr. Pitt, and even of Peter Porcupine. It is not *statesmanlike*, not, I think, prudent even in a state of open hostility, much less during a negotiation for peace. If ever there be a restoration of harmony, his abusive language must be retracted, or suppressed. But I fear that the irritation must now be so great, that there cannot be any good understanding between this country and France while he is President. The late President would have used more caution, whatever he had felt, or intended. What can Mr. Adams mean by calling the French liberty *chimerical*. What then is that of America? The two constitutions do not differ in anything essential. They say too (but I have not read all his Answers to Addresses) that he laments the fall of the Pope. If he proceed much farther in this way I think his friends should send for Dr. Wallis from England. But your long letter, which I hope is on the way to me, may make me change this language.

In all events I am, Dear Sir, yours sincerely, J. PRIESTLEY.

P. S. You may not have heard what I have from my banker in Paris, that the Directory have determined to pay off their whole debt the next year, by the sale of all national property in France, or the islands. I shall be glad if I get the half of what I have in these funds. Mr. Delacroix, when he was in office, promised me more than the whole if I would go and reside in France. It is possible that your measures here may make this step necessary. But fixed as I now am I shall remove with much reluctance.

DEAR SIR, — I thank you for the *Communication from the Envoys*, and like their *reply* very much. Dr. Ross also brought me *Mr. Necker's late work*, which I think very judicious, but I do not pretend to be a judge in these things. Time and Experience will be the best teachers.

I have just received a parcell of books from England, but not *all* that I have an account of, being sent to Mr. Vaughan for me. I wish therefore you would ask him whether he has received the following, which were delivered to the *brother* in London to be sent to him Feb. 24: *Jablonski's Pantheon Egyptiorum*, 3 Vols., & *Diodorus Siculus*, 7 Vols., in French *Asiatic Dissertations*, Vol. 3, and probably some *Newspapers*. If they be, I wish you would send them in small parcels, by the Stage coach from the Spread Eagle Market Street to the care of Capⁿ Lee Harrisburgh and I hope they will come safe, especially if any of the passengers will take some care of them, and the package be strong, so as to preserve the books from being chafed — I want the books above mentioned for my *Comparison of the Institutions of Moses with those of the Hindoos and other Antient Nations*.

I have completed my *Exposition of the Minor Prophets*, and am proceeding to the *larger*. Whether this be ever published or not, I shall continue it for my own satisfaction. No other studies or pursuits yield me so much.

Please also to take of Mr. Dobson, and send me by the above Conveyance, the *Medical Repository*, printed at New York, and sold by him. I hear it contains an account of my controversy with the Advocates for the French system of Chemistry.

I am, Dear Sir, yours sincerely,

J. PRIESTLEY.

NORTH? 28 June.

NORTHUMBERLAND, July 5th, 1798.

DEAR SIR, — I am disappointed in your not sending me the *long letter* you promised me, as I do not see the impossibility of the same objects communicating the same ideas, and making the same impression on our minds, if we only go back to *common principles*, which in your case and mine cannot be very far; especially as we shall both be ingenuous, and one without personal prejudice. You will have the advantage of giving more attention to the subject which is constantly before you; whereas I seldom think about it. I only read the *Newspapers* once a week, and seldom any thing more than the articles of news. I have not even read any of your debates in Congress in all this session. But on this account I may view the subject with more coolness, and perhaps in a truer light. But what I may write in jest, I hope you will not take in earnest, or let any thing I write go beyond

yourself. For the times, I perceive, grow venous, and a man's whose thoughts only do not go with the current may be in danger.

I have now fully satisfied myself, and therefore I doubt not but that, in a sufficient time, I shall satisfy others, of the fallacy of the French theory of Chemistry; and shall be glad to make use of the *Medical Repository*, which in my last I desired you to send me, for the purpose of communicating particular experiments before I print another pamphlet on the subject. Indeed, I do not care to do this before I hear from the Chemists in France, in answer to my two last publications; and now I can have no intercourse with that country, probably for some years to come. But all events are in the hands of God, and will, no doubt, terminate well, and I will not distress myself about any thing future. There is a will that is above our, and that comprehends ours.

I am writing Notes on *Isaiah*. Having seen no more of Mr. Levi, I can give no account of the printing of the Work I mentioned. If I do print it I shall trouble you with the conveyance of the proofs, and I presume your utterings will from this time be nearly permanent, unless you empower the President to act according to his sole discretion.

With every good wish, I am, dear Sir, yours sincerely,

J. PRIESTLEY.

NORTHUMBERLAND, July 26, 1798.

DEAR SIR, — As I find by your letter that I can write to you without putting you to any expence, I will thank you for sending me the No. of the *Medical Repository*. It is the only part that I have seen of it, and I am glad there is such a thing in the country; as I have made many experiments of considerable importance, and wanted such a mode of communicating them before I write another tract on the subject. I am now perfectly satisfied that the new French theory of chemistry is altogether fallacious, and, though almost universally received, it will fall in a reasonable time.

In theology I have completed my *Exposition of Isaiah*, in which I cannot help leaning much to the Jewish mode of interpretation, in opposition to the christian. Having dispatched this, and also *Daniel* and the *Minor prophets*, I have little doubt but that, applying to the work as I do, I shall finish the whole before the next summer, especially if I do not go to Philadelphia, which, in the present state of things, it is advisable for me to avoid, even though I should have a friend to receive me there. Mr Vaughan expressed, I doubt not, a sincere wish to do it, but said he had not convenience.

In a letter lately received from Philadelphia my friend says, "I find your correspondence with some one in this city has been made very

public, and occasioned a good deal of notice of your democratic principles, which in the present season have irritated some persons not a little."

Now I have not written to any person in Philadelphia besides yourself, and I am sure you would not *intentionally* expose me to danger. However, I will take care to *send no more, lest a worse thing come unto me*. I find I am at the mercy of one man, who, if he pleases, may, even without giving me a hearing, or a minutes warning, either confine me, or send me out of the country. This is not a pleasant situation; and I apprehend my pleading the zeal that, in conjunction with Dr Price, I always shewed for the liberty and independence of America, would not avail me now. None of my friends of similar principles can now join me here. They would not, I presume, be allowed to land in the country.

I doubt not, however, but that all things will have a happy issue. Nations, as well as individuals, are in a state of discipline; and when suffering will be useful, the violence and folly of the governing powers are the most natural means of administering it. As to myself, I cannot suffer long. In all events, and with every good wish, I am,

Dear Sir, yours sincerely,

J. PRIESTLEY.

P. S. It will be time enough to begin to print my work when you return to Philadelphia. Indeed, it is as yet uncertain whether I shall be able to print it. When I last saw my friend the Jew he did not express so much zeal as he had done before, and he led me to conclude that though he *could* receive me into his house, it would not be quite convenient on account of circumstances in his family. I do not, however, doubt his good will, or friendship for myself.

NORTHUMBERLAND, Dec. 20, 1798.

DEAR SIR, — I am glad to find that you are returned to Philadelphia, and that you are not afraid to correspond with so dangerous a politician as I am; and as I have no correspondence with any other member of Congress, I shall perhaps be troublesome to you.

I have employed myself this summer very much in my laboratory, and have sent several articles of a chemical nature to the *Medical Repository*, printed at New York. Four of these, I hear, will be published in their two next numbers, and I have one more to send. The object of them all is to show the fallacy (as it appears to me) of the French theory. But I want to hear from the French chemists themselves, and when we shall have any intercourse with that abominable country you Federalists can tell better than I can. I suffer much in various ways for want of it. Who are the gainers I cannot tell.

I shall very soon print my *Comparison of the Institutions of Moses with those of the Hindoos, &c.*, in this place, at my own expense, and shall be obliged to my friends if they will take as many copies as they can dispose of, that my loss may be the less. But I shall not again propose to print any Works by *subscription* in this country.

My son, who expects to be in Philadelphia in about a week, will endeavour to make some agreement with Mr. Gales about the printing of my *Church History*, if he will take *land* which I have, instead of *money* which I have not. If this can be done, I shall be much obliged to you for transmitting the proofs, &c. But what can I do when you are not in Philadelphia, as the expense of postage will be very great?

When I wrote last, I think I had finished my Exposition of *Daniel* and the *Minor Prophets*. I have since that completed, and transcribed my Exposition of *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and *Ezekiel*, and reverting to Genesis, have about half finished the Pentateuch. In the course of the next summer I hope to finish the whole. This will be a large work, and whether it will ever be published is very uncertain. But if not, I cannot employ my leisure more to my satisfaction; except, you may say, in disturbing peaceable kingdoms and States. But of my political publications I must not say anything to you.

Yours sincerely,

J. PRIESTLEY.

P. S. I wish you would send me the American edition, I see advertised in Brown's Newspaper, of the *Intercepted Letters* addressed to me; and any political intelligence you dare to trust me with.

NORTHUMBERLAND, Jan. 7, 1799.

DEAR SIR, — As you do not complain of the liberty I have taken, I shall trouble you pretty often in the same way. As my son has probably sailed before this time, I wish you would tell Mr. Gales that he agreed with Mr. Kennedy, the printer in this town, about the printing of my *Comparison of the Institutions of Moses, &c.*, and undertook to buy a quantity of type for the work, and that I have seen the paper maker, and have agreed with him for the paper; so that if, as he writes to Mr. Degrachy, he has made any agreement with Mr. Gales about the printing of the same work, he must have forgot what was done here, and what I think myself bound by. If he has agreed with him about the printing of the *Church History*, it is very well, and part of the copy shall be sent to Mr. Gales whenever he chooses.

You say you wish I were as zealous a friend of America as Mr. Hone is of France. Both Mr. Hone and myself, as well as Dr. Price and many others, were as zealous in the cause of America as he now is in that of France. If I had not been so, I should not have come hither,

nor am I changed at all. I like the country and the constitution of your government as much as ever. The change, dear sir, is in you. It is clear to me that you have violated your constitution in several essential articles, and act upon maxims by which you may defeat the whole object of it. Mr. Adams openly disapproves the most fundamental article of it, viz., *the election of the Executive*. But as you say, we cannot see our own prejudices, and cherish them as truths.

I may be doing wrong in writing so freely, and I have been desired to be cautious with respect to what I write to *you*. But I am not used to secrecy or caution, and I cannot adopt a new system of conduct now. There is no person in this country to whom I write on the subject of Politics besides yourself, nor do I recollect what I have written; but I do not care who sees what I write or knows what I think on any subject. You may, if you please, show all my letters to Mr. Adams himself. I like his address on the opening of the Congress, and I much approve of his conduct in several respects. I like him better than your late President. He is more undisguised. We easily know what he thinks and what he would do, but I think his answers to several of the addresses are mere intemperate railing, unworthy of a statesman.

My general maxims of policy are, I believe, peculiar to myself. When I mentioned them to Mr. Adams, he was pleased to say that "if any nation could govern itself by them, it would command the world." Of this I am fully persuaded; but he has departed very far from them. All that I can expect is the fate of the poet Lee,¹ who, when he was confined in a mad-house, and was asked by some stranger why he was sent thither, replied, "I said the world was mad, and the world said I was mad, and they outvoted me." My plan would prevent all war, and almost all taxes. But if the calamities of war, heavy taxation, the pestilence, &c., or any other evil, be required for the discipline of nations, as I believe that in the present state of things they are, they will be introduced from some cause or other. This country as well as others wants a scourge, and you are preparing one for yourselves.

With every good wish to you and your country, I am, Dear Sir (though an alien),

Yours sincerely,

J. PRIESTLEY.

NORTHUMBERLAND, Jan. 10, 1799.

DEAR SIR, — I sent you by Mr. Ecroyd *Mr. Belsham's answer to Mr. Wilberforce*, and by Mr. Humphreys *Mr. Hone's pamphlet*. They may both be had by inquiring of Mr. Vaughan.

¹ Nathaniel Lee, an English dramatic author, became insane and was confined in Bedlam, but he afterwards recovered his reason and was released. He died in 1692. — Eds.

I hope I do not take too great a liberty in inclosing *two open letters*, for your conveyance according to their directions. I know they must not be *sealed*. I wish to write in the same manner to a friend or two at a great distance, and whom I wish not to burden with the expense of postage, but I shall not proceed any further without your permission.

I am, Dear Sir, yours sincerely,

J. PRIESTLEY.

P. S. My daughter can bring back the pamphlets, but you may keep them as long as you please.

DEAR [SIR],—I fear I take too great liberties with you; but I wish to convey the inclosed to my son, and hope you will excuse it.

I am sending to the press my *Comparison of the Institutions of Moses with those of the Hindoos*, &c.; but shall not be able to print my *Church History* at present. Had not Mr. Vaughan been so unfortunate, I could have done pretty well. But though I have landed security for the money I had in his hands, which is all that I have in this country, these lands are uncultivated, cannot be sold for anything at present, and yield no revenue. I go on however to write in hope of better times, but I shall no more propose a *subscription* to anything.

I send by this post an article for the Medical Repository at New York, and once thought of troubling you with it; but on second thoughts have not. I have desired however Dr. Mitchell, my correspondent there, to send me some printed copies of what they print of mine to you to be conveyed under your cover.

I am, Dear Sir, yours sincerely,

J. PRIESTLEY.

NORTHUMBERLAND, Jan. 17, 1799.

P. S. Say nothing to anybody, of what I wrote about Mr. V. &c.

NORTHUMBERLAND, Feb. 14, 1799.

DEAR SIR,—If I had not had the most perfect confidence in your friendship, I should not have written to you as I have done on the subject of *Politicks*, knowing how very different your sentiments in that respect are from mine. I have no other correspondent to whom I mention the subject at all, and seldom think of it but at the moment of writing. My thoughts you may easily perceive are engaged other ways.

I am glad that you like Mr. Belsham's pamphlet so well. You may keep it, as I can get another copy. I should have added the article

you wish for to the *History of Corruptions*,¹ but I had little or nothing to say *historically* on the subject. I shall, however, attend to it, and endeavour to make a section to your mind.

I am quite ready to begin the printing of my *Comparison*, but fear we shall be delayed by the want of *type*. If you can do anything to forward it, I shall be much obliged to you. Be assured I shall never lose sight of the *exposition and corrected version of all the books of Scripture*, and the kind of illustrations that you mention will be very particularly attended to. Hitherto I have omitted nothing of the kind that has come to my knowledge.

I have just received a letter from Mr. Lindsey,² who mentions some *philosophical articles* that have been sent to me in the *Neptune, Capt. Joseph Saunders*. From the manner in which he speaks of this package, I conclude that I ought to have received it some time ago, whereas I have heard nothing of it, or of any advice concerning it, to Mr. Vaughan or myself. I shall be much obliged to you indeed, if you will be so good as to make the necessary inquiry concerning it, and if it can be found, see it lodged safe till I can send for it. Mr. Lindsey also mentions a *parcell of books* that he has sent me; but he does not say by what ship, and another *smaller parcell* that was sent with this letter, but does not mention the ship. This, however, must be one that arrived very lately.

I suffer much by these delays, and loss of parcells. If they lie at any public office, I fear they will be opened, and then it will be impossible for anybody to replace the articles without certain injury. Hitherto by Mr. Vaughan's interest I have been favoured, the packages being sent hither, and I then informing them of the contents. I hope by your means to have the same favour continued. It is indeed of great consequence to me. All my books and instruments must come from England, which alone is a great disadvantage that I must labour under [in] this country independently of other circumstances. Mr. J. Vaughan is at No. 63 Duke Street, but perhaps does not make his appearance.

I shall print my *Comparison* at all events, and be thankful for any assistance my friends can give me by way of lessening the certain expenses attending it. Whether I shall be able to print anything more in this country is uncertain. I shall certainly go to the utmost extent of my own funds. My *Philosophical Articles* will be printed in the *Medical Repository*, and cost me nothing. I am very busy in

¹ Priestley's "History of the Corruptions of Christianity," in two volumes, published in 1782, was burned by the common hangman in the city of Dort in 1785. — Eds.

² Theophilus Lindsey, an English theologian, was born in 1723 and died in 1808. A memoir of his life, by the Rev. Thomas Belsham, was published in London in 1812. — Eds.

that way, but this does not interest you. I often wish that this place lay in the way to Biddeford. It would give me great pleasure to show you my conveniences, which are beyond everything I ever had before.

Yours,

J. PRIESTLEY.

P. S. Perhaps Mr. Dobson will send us the small quantity of *Greek* and *Hebrew type* that we may want, if it cannot be purchased.

DEAR SIR, — Looking into my *Institutes*, I find I have said all that I know, and I believe all that is known about the *devil*, &c., in the way of *argument*. I should now only say that I believe, with Mr. Palmer (now in Botany Bay), that the *fallen angels* of Peter and Jude were the *descendants of Seth*, who perished in the deluge. See the *Theological Repository*, vol. 5, p. 166. As to an *historical* article, I could not find material for one. I often wish you were nearer to me, that I might get your perusal of what I am composing for the press. Here I am absolutely isolated. When the Congress shall remove to the federal city, perhaps you may sometimes include this place in your way, and spend a week or more with me. Otherwise I shall hardly see you any more. [word wanting] your affection for England, I wish you would learn their exactness in the conduct of the *Post-Office*. The last post brought us newspapers, but the *letter bag* was left behind. I expected a letter from Mr. Russell, and perhaps from you.

I wish you could get me the full *titles* and *dates* of the impression of Dr. [name illegible]'s *History of Indostan*, and *Holwell's Interesting Historical Events*. I had them from the Circulating Library in Philadelphia, and returned them without noting those circumstances, and I wish to describe them more circumstantially in my Preface, than I have done in my references to them.

I am, Dear Sir, yours sincerely,

J. PRIESTLEY.

NORTHUMBERLAND, March 1, 1799.

NORTHUMBERLAND, Dec. 12, 1799.

DEAR SIR, — Your letter was peculiarly welcome, for in truth, I was afraid you would have revolted at my *Politics*; as you are so violent a Federalist, and I such a democrat. Since, however, you could bear the *first* part of my letters, I will venture to send you the *second* by this post, and then you will know the worst of me.

The Porcupine's abuse had no effect on you, it had on many others;

and even in this part of the country I was generally regarded as a dangerous person. For in this country it is not one person in a hundred that knows anything of my writings, or my history. I was frequently called an *atheist*. Porcupine's paper was taken by all the most reputable federalists in these parts, and many I believe propagated suspicions of me that they did not entertain themselves.

Before I received your letter I had sent Mr. Dobson a copy of my *Comparison*, with directions that after he had looked into it (in order to judge whether it would be worth his while to take the impression upon himself or not), to deliver it to *you*; and I beg your acceptance of it. I have since heard that he declines having anything to do with it, except selling it on my account. This I wish to avoid, and another bookseller seems inclined to take it. I desire nothing for my trouble, but I wish to be *indemnified*, and to have as little as possible to do with the *sale*, as it is a thing that I should manage very ill. I should have preferred Mr. Dobson to any other bookseller, and I wish you would ask him to show you the letters I wrote to him on the subject. But do not solicit him to take it as a *favour* done to me. I do not like such obligations, and a bookseller, I well know, may get money when the author would be a great loser by the sale.

Mr. *Cooper's pamphlet* was sent, together with the copies of mine, to Mr. Campbell, bookseller in Market street, by a waggon which left this town yesterday, so that you may soon see them.

I have now completed my *Notes on all the books of Scripture*, without omitting even *Solomon's Song*, which at first I did not intend to meddle with, as there is nothing of religion in it. My *Church History* was finished long before; but these I believe must remain to be disposed of by my executor.

I have completed my experiments in defence of the doctrine of *phlogiston*; and having now heard all that has been, and I believe *can* be advanced against it, I begin the next week to print my *Defensive Treatise* on the subject; and I pretend to nothing less than a *demonstration* of the fallacy of the opposite new theory, though supported by almost [all] the chemists in Europe, and this country too.

If you dare trust me with any political information, I shall be glad to receive it.

Yours sincerely,

J. PRIESTLEY.

NORTHUMBERLAND, Jan'y 9, 1800.

DEAR SIR, — Having heard nothing from Mr. Dobson, and he having twice refused to have anything to do with my *Comparison*, I authorized a friend to dispose of it to Mr. Campbell, with whom the copies

now are. He reimburses me all my expenses about it; but without the exertions of my friends, I fear he will be a loser by it, not indeed finally (for if any theological work of mine be salable, I think this will), but in these times it will go off very heavily, and he may be discouraged. I shall therefore be much obliged to you and to my friends in general, if you will recommend it where you have opportunity, and I hope that Mr. Dobson will promote the sale as much as he can, tho' he did not chuse to take the expense of it upon himself.

Mr. Campbell takes my *Letters* as well as the Comparison. With respect to *this* I only ask your forbearance, and if you think I have offended, your forgiveness. Consider, however, how long I bore every species of abuse without any reply. What I suffered with respect to *character* in this neighborhood you cannot know. But in consequence of perpetual and uncontradicted accusations, I was generally considered as a dangerous person. In this respect I find that these *Letters* have been of great use, and I have reason to think that, in consequence of the candid account of my principles and conduct, I shall have no occasion to trouble the public with anything farther on the subject, tho' I find there are many Porcupines in this country, and with them my case is not at all mended.

I have lately received some valuable theological publications from England, which I wish you could see; but I have no opportunity of sending them, and several of them are now bound up with other pamphlets. They do not, however, contain any sentiments that would be new to you. But they are well written, and excellently adapted to *existing circumstances*, as the phrase now is.

I often wish I could see you in my *shed* as it is called. But it is too much out of your way in going or returning from Congress; and besides we have not yet any stage coach to this place.

With every good wish, I am,

Dear sir, yours sincerely,

J. PRIESTLEY.

DEAR SIR, — I truly admire the candour you express with respect to my *Letters*. It is more than I expected even from you, and I must say that with the Federalists in general, it is very uncommon. At least so I have found it in my own case. I am pretty well known to have been (at some risk to myself) a zealous friend to your revolution when I was in England. When here I never meddled with your Politics for five years, and yet no person in the country has been exposed to such outrageous abuse. As to the Federalists at a distance, I stand, as I expected, just as I did before. The virulence of Porcupine is taken up by other writers, but I have mended myself a little here, and with that I am satisfied; and I hope I shall have no occasion to give you, or them,

any further trouble in this way. It was with great reluctance that I did what I have done.

I shall thank you if you will tell me what you wished me to have omitted in the Letters, or anything in which you think I am palpably wrong. I do not mean to draw you into any controversy, but I will think of it.

Mr. Dobson has not acted like a friend with respect to the *Comparison*, and of my *Letters* which I did not mention to him, he says "*my friends are ashamed for me.*" I wish he would shew you my last letter to him that you may judge whether he had any occasion to write to me in that manner. I made him the offer of the Comparison three different times, desiring nothing but indemnification.

The *Layman's Answer to Wilberforce* is one of the pamphlets I wished to put into your hands.

I thank you for your good wishes with respect to my *Notes on the Scriptures*. They are ready, but when they will be called for does not depend upon me. I have just printed, except the Preface, a philosophical work, which I entitle, *The doctrine of phlogiston established and that of the composition of water refuted*.

You will wonder at my confidence when almost all the world is against me. But I have cautiously examined the ground, and think I stand very firm. I do not think the allied powers have now the same confidence in their contest with France.

I trouble you with the inclosed for Mr. Campbell, and am,

Dear Sir, yours sincerely,

J. PRIESTLEY.

NORTHUMBERLAND, Jan. 23, 1800.

NORTHUMBERLAND, Feb. 20, 1800.

DEAR SIR,—I trouble you with *two letters*, which I shall be much obliged to you to forward according to the directions. That to Mr. Baynham is somewhere near *Lake Champlain*, but probably you will be able to direct it better than I can.

I lately sent to Mr. Smith, by Mr. Campbell, some copies of a *chemical tract* in defence of the doctrine of phlogiston. Tho' you are not a chemist, you may perhaps find something to amuse, and I hope please, you in the Preface, &c.

I am now writing a *Dissertation on the knowledge of a future state among the antient Hebrews*. I have been used to think there were no traces of it in the Old Testament, but I now think they furnish me a demonstration of it. I wish I could submit it to your inspection. I shall transcribe it in a few days, and, if I have a good opportunity, will send it to you.

I shall be much obliged to you, and Mr. Vaughan, to take two copies of my *Comparison* of Mr. Campbell, and take the first opportunity of sending them as presents from me to Mr. Freeman of Boston, and Mr. Bentley of Salem.

With every good wish, I am,

Dear Sir, yours sincerely,

J. PRIESTLEY.

P. S. I thank you for the inclosures by the last post.

DEAR SIR, — I often lament that I am situated at so great a distance from you, and indeed from all liberal Christians. Here, as far as religion is an object, I find extreme bigotry. A few persons, however, chiefly young men, have read some of my small publications and have become Unitarians; but our society is on the smallest scale. I never before was so sensible of the value of the society of persons who have the same pursuits and the same principles. It is a great stimulus to exertions. Having, however, a habit of industry, I am not idle, and have lately printed, "*A Comparison of the Institutions of Moses with those of the Hindoos and other Ancient Nations.*" And by means of Mr. Vaughan or Mr. Thatcher, I shall send you a copy, of which I beg your acceptance, and if you can promote the sale of a few copies I shall think myself obliged to you. I have printed it at my own expense; but have some hope that a printer in Philadelphia will take the impression and indemnify me. I am very willing to give my labor, but I cannot do much more.

I am now writing a *dissertation on the belief of a future state among the ancient Hebrews*. I had been used to think there were no traces of it in the Old Testament, but I now think there are many, so as to amount to a demonstration. My tract on the subject will not be large, but I shall not be able to publish it here. I shall send it to England, but in these times the conveyance of manuscript is hazardous.

Though I do not neglect experiments, and have just printed a *defence of the doctrines of phlogiston*, my principal study is that of the scriptures, and I have now completed my "*Notes on all the books of the Old and New Testaments,*" as well as my "*Church History,*" but whether they will ever be published is very uncertain, but the longer I have them by me, the more I shall improve them.

Having been continually represented as a dangerous person, I have at length published my thoughts on the politics of this country, with the same freedom with which I have been used to treat all other subjects; but I have no wish to do anything more in this way.

I shall be glad to hear from you and especially to be informed of the state of Unitarianism in your parts. What are the numbers of

your own congregation and how many are there that may be called Unitarian in your neighbourhood?

With the greatest respect, I am, Dear Sir,

Yours sincerely, J. PRIESTLEY.

NORTHUMBERLAND, Feb. 20, 1800.

[Addressed, "To the Rev. James Freeman,
Boston, Massachusetts."]

NORTH'D, March 6, 1800.

DEAR SIR, — I thank you for the *Magazine* you sent me. It contains many valuable articles. I am also much obliged to you for *Mr. Webster's Letters*. I have no thoughts at present of writing anything more in that way, but I may be led to think and act otherwise.

I am sending my *Dissertation on the knowledge of a future state among the Antient Hebrews* to England. Mr. Lindsey will probably get it printed in some form or other.

I am engaged in a promising train of *experiments*, and everything in this way is much more expensive here than in England. But I cannot be idle. You see that rather than do nothing, I even write on politicks, of which you Federalist, will say I know nothing at all.

With every good wish I am, Dear Sir,

J. PRIESTLEY.

P. S. I take the liberty to trouble you with the inclosed.

NORTHUMBERLAND, March 20, 1800.

DEAR SIR, — I thank you for the *Tract on Prophecy*. Everything on that subject interests me much. I wish I could see the *other tract* that Mr. Winthrop mentions. Perhaps you can send it me from Boston.

I enclose a letter for *Noah Webster* and wish you would complete the direction, as I do not know where he lives. I wish also, you would read the letter, and if you think there is anything in it, that you would not have me to say to him, suppress it.

I wish you would read the *Dedication* and *Preface* to my late *tract on phlogiston*. If I had thought the subject interesting to you, I should have sent you a copy. I am busy about some important experiments. Were you here I would not despair of exciting your attention to other things besides *theology* or *metaphysics*, tho' these are certainly of the first consequence, and I give most of my time to them.

I am, Dear Sir,

J. PRIESTLEY.

P. S. Cannot you make this place on your way to the federal city, where I suppose Congress will meet the next year?

SIR, — I do not know whether you can forgive my neglecting to answer your obliging letter of so old a date as February, 1797; when I can only say that when I received it I was from home, and not at leisure

to write, and that I afterwards forgot it, and when I recollected it I was ashamed to acknowledge it. If you can, please to accept a pamphlet I take the liberty to send you on a subject that is very interesting to chemists. I have since that completed a course of experiments in pursuance of those on *the generation of air from water*, the result of which is that, by repeated freezing of the same water, I always get from it a quantity of air, and to appearance without any limit; so that the whole might be converted into this kind of air as well as by previously converting it into vapour. By this means the atmosphere may constantly receive an addition to this ingredient in its constitution, as the other part, viz, dephlogisticated air, is recruited by the influence of light on plants.

I thought I had had the volume of the American Transactions to which you refer, but I find I have no more than the first volume; but I have somewhere seen it, and I think Mr. Holyoake makes the difference of heat to depend upon the difference of purity in the air in different seasons. If so, he must be mistaken, for I find no sensible difference in the purity of the air at any time, or, indeed, between the air of this country and that of England.

I am not very well acquainted with the doctrines of *Galvanism*, but it should seem that the different metals are in different states with respect to electricity, though it is very extraordinary that this should be the case. This is a curious and important subject just opening upon us.

I have always heard a good account of Mr. Tytler, both as a man and a philosopher, but I have no personal knowledge of him.

I rejoice to find that in you that philosophy is joined to Christianity, from which it is too much separated. With me this is a primary object, and philosophy, much as I have attended to it, only a secondary one, as my writings here as well as in Europe will show.

Please to remember me respectfully to your honoured father, if, as I hope, he be still living. He is very obliging to inquire after my situation, and assure him that I find in this country everything that I expected from it, or that I wish for in this world. I have convenience and leisure for my pursuits of every kind, and I shall endeavour to make as much use of them as I can. I want only such things as must be had from Europe, and more early intelligence of what philosophers are doing there. But this inconvenience will be removed after the present war, which cannot, I think, continue much longer, shall cease.

With the greatest respect I am, Sir,

Yours sincerely, J. PRIESTLEY.

NORTHUMBERLAND, April 3, 1800.

[Addressed, "B. Lynde Oliver,
Salem, Massachusetts."]

DEAR SIR, — I was much amused with the account of your being taken in by my treatise on *phlogiston*. For the future, mind the old adage *Fronti nulla fides*. However, if you get *anything* for your half dollar it was not wholly thrown away, and you will be wiser another time.

I have lately been reading *Robinson's History of Baptism*, and it has led me to put down some thoughts on the subject, which I shall probably reduce into the form of a *tract*, and send to England after the Essay mentioned in my last. But I want to examine one of Mr. Robinson's references to the Works of St. Austin. My set is not complete, one volume having been destroyed in the riots; and unfortunately the treatise referred to is in that volume. But *Austin's Works* I see are in the *Loganian library*, No. 84, Folio, in 8 volumes. I shall therefore be much obliged to you if you will consult it for me. Mr. Robinson says, p. 218, "Had he" (Austin) "forgot himself when he taxed the Pelagians with denying infant baptism;" and in the margin refers to the treatise. *De Peccatorum meritis*, Lib. 2, Cap. 25. This is the tract that my set is deficient in.

He has another reference to a treatise which I have; but it contains nothing to his purpose, and therefore I strongly suspect that the other does not. In other places Austin takes it for granted that the Pelagians, as well as all other Christians, allowed of infant baptism; and from this he draws an argument against them. Mr. Robinson had good sense, and a strong imagination, but he is not always to be depended upon, tho' he was far from intending to mislead his readers.

Some time ago Mr. Lindsey sent me *King's History of the Greek Church*, 4to., but having it before I sent the other to Mr. Dobson to sell for me, I wish you would inquire whether it be sold. It is a valuable work, and worth your having. I also sent him the 3d vol. of the *Transactions of the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia*, to have the 4th bound like it. Please to inquire whether it be done, and if so, let them be sent to Mr. Vaughan, who will send them hither the first opportunity.

Did you receive, and forward, my *Letter to Noah Webster*? I thank for your care of the others.

Yours sincerely,

J. PRIESTLEY.

NORTHUMBERLAND, Apr. 23, 1800.

P. S. *The Commentaries & Essays*, is a work that you should have. There are only four Nos. of the second volume printed.

MAY 10, 1800.

DEAR SIR, — I am sorry on your account, as well as my own, that you have forgotten your *Latin*; but certainly it is not now worth your while to endeavour to recover it. I am writing to Mr. Belsham, and I desire him to consult the passage for me. I now and then want books that I cannot get here, but in this situation I the more value those that I have, and read many that I should never have read in England, where I had greater choice, and I have found much advantage in it, so that some good results from every evil. I am now reading with much satisfaction *Bingham's Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, a learned and laborious work; but though I have long had it, I should never have done more than consult it occasionally, in any other than my present situation. For my philosophical pursuits I am nearly as well furnished as I ever was in England; but I want more early intelligence of what is doing there, and especially in France. I am much interested in the restoration of the intercourse with that country, and hope it will soon take place, unless the apprehension of a war with England in consequence of it should prevent it.

I am glad to hear you say that the *reign of terror* will probably soon terminate. If the *effect* cease, I shall not much mind the *cause*. On this subject, and the influence of France in this country, I differ from you *in toto*; but as it is not likely that anything that I could say would change your opinion on these subjects, I shall not trouble you with it. I believe your motives to be as pure as my own, nor can I disapprove what you say of *ignorant sincerity*; but we differ widely in the application of general maxims to particular cases. I thank you for the news from New York. My correspondents there are Dr. Mitchell and Chancellor Livingstone; but our subjects are altogether philosophical. I should not have known, from anything that has come from Dr. Mitchell, whether he was a Federalist or otherwise. I am glad, however, to find that he is on the *right side*.

When I look at the map, I do not think that your way to the Federal city by this place from New York is much longer than by Philadelphia. If so, I still flatter myself that you may look in upon me in going to or returning from Congress. The difference cannot be much. I would go further than that to see you.

In my last I mentioned our preservation from poison. Our physicians, however, say there was nothing but *tartar emetic* in what we took; and having examined what remained of the flour, I do not find any certain sign of arsenic in it; so that there is no proof that any serious mischief was intended.

I do not know what to think of Buonaparte, but I cannot help being apprehensive for the fate of England. By accounts from my son, the scarcity there approaches to a famine. The deaths in London are more

than ever was known since the great plague. All provisions are almost three times the usual prices, and yet they will not hear of *peace*. It is like that *infatuation* which, as Hartley observes, generally precedes destruction. My consolation is that *the Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice*.

Yours sincerely,

J. PRIESTLEY.

P. S. I have received no letter from Mr. Dobson. I am sorry that Congress is breaking up, as you will probably leave Philadelphia, if you have not already left it.

NORTHUMBERLAND, Aug. 8, 1800.

DEAR SIR,—I thank you for the valuable present of Mr. Tytler's treatise. It is a very interesting work, and I shall read it with particular attention, not only on account of the principal object of it, the investigation of the nature of pestilential disorders, but on account of the great mass of collateral subjects that I perceive he discusses, especially the doctrine of *heat*, concerning which I have long been unable to form any satisfactory opinion. When I have perused the work, I shall take the liberty to propose to him or to you any question that may occur to me on that subject, or any other that he has introduced. I see that in his account of plague in the Appendix, he has not mentioned the most extensive and fatal of any that we read of, in that of 1348, in the time of Petrarch, which seems to have swept off one-third of the human race.

Mr. Tytler's opinion in favour of my objections to the new theory, I think of much value, and I am well persuaded that the more attention is given to the subject, the more groundless that system will appear. Many I hear suspect it in England, and there has been a serious attack made upon it in France, but by whom I have not learned. We shall soon, I hope, have a communication opened with that country, and then I shall know more particulars. The want of it at present is a great obstruction to the progress of science, but this is no object with politicians.

My experiments on the perpetual production of phlogisticated air from water, both by means of a vacuum and by freezing, I think absolutely subversive of the hypothesis of the re-solution of water into inflammable and pure air. I have made both with the greatest care, and do not at present foresee that any sufficient objection can be made to either of them; their agreement with each other is a striking circumstance. Your objections to the new nomenclature are certainly very just.

The objections that Mr. Tytler makes to Count Rumford's experiments did not strike me at the time that I read them, but I shall now attend to it more particularly. I have not yet seen Noah Webster's

book on the plague, but intend to procure it. What do you and Mr. Tytler think of it? I wish we were nearer to each other.

I am, with my respects to Mr. Tytler,

Dear sir, yours sincerely, J. PRIESTLEY.

P. S. I have printed at my own expense a *comparison of the institutions of the Hindoos and other nations with those of Moses*. Could you assist me in the disposal of a few copies in your neighbourhood?

[Addressed, "B. Lynde Oliver, Esq.,
Salem, Massachusetts."]

PHILADELPHIA, 14 Feb. 1796.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have just returned from the Universal meeting house and I hasten to tell you I had the pleasure of hearing our friend Dr. Priestley. He came to this City on Tuesday evening, and though it was but sparsely known, or hinted that it was probable he would preach this morning, the meeting house was very much crowded; and I believe I may safely add — he gave universal satisfaction, for as I returned in the street it seemed as if every tongue was engaged in speaking his praise, or answering the clergy of the City. Can you believe it — not one of the regular clergy here had civility enough to invite him to preach, though he was some time in the City when he first arrived, or even decency to permit him, on request of his friends, to enter their pulpits to deliver a lecture!

Five years ago a preacher, who called himself a Unitarian, gave out that on a certain day he should deny and publicly disprove the Calvinistic idea of the Divinity of Jesus, in consequence of which declaration the room, which the preacher had engaged by contract for two or three months, was taken from him, and the door nailed up, and he was obliged to flee from the City. But now such a preacher is listened to with a pleasing attention, and attended by a thronging multitude. I predict that ten or a dozen years will extinguish most of this narrowness of mind; and though some of the clergy may act like the Scribes and Pharisees, in the time of Jesus, the great body of the people will think for themselves.

Yesterday I called upon the Doctor, and had considerable conversation with him. He keeps at Mr. Russell's — I had not seen Mr. Russell before. He inquired after you, and expressed a wish to settle near Boston. He says 'tis yet altogether uncertain where he shall make his final abode. He has a great attachment to the Doctor and wishes to settle as near him as he can. I joined him in pressing the Doctor to make a visit to New England, and I think we shall prevail. Mr. Russell says he really believes the Doctor, having come to a determination not to separate from his children, who are fixed at North-

umberland in this State, is afraid to trust himself on a visit to Boston, lest he should not be willing to return. I can't leave the Doctor yet — The Vice-President, Elsworth, Cabot, Sedgwick and many others, of both Houses of Congress attended him. Judge Preble, with whom I spoke after service, expressed himself in raptures — "Good God," said he, "what would I give to hear him as long as I live?"¹

His sermon was from these words in Proverbs — "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom; but the fool," etc. — I have already said too much to permit me to say anything more than to add, this sermon is an introduction to a series of Discourses he means to deliver on the Evidences of Revelation.

Your friend and obedient servant,

GEO. THATCHER.

THE REV. JAMES FREEMAN.

The PRESIDENT referred to the second volume of Governor Hutchinson's diary, recently issued, which he characterized as one of the curiosities of literature. It relieves Hutchinson's character of charges which had unjustly been made against him, for he evidently loved his country and was governed by patriotic motives. The editor's notes, however, are often irrelevant.

Mr. C. C. SMITH, having been called on by the President, communicated an extract from the manuscript journal of the Rev. John Pierce, D.D., and said: —

It is well known to the older members of the Society that our associate, the late Rev. Dr. John Pierce, of Brookline, who was chosen a member in January, 1809, and died in August, 1849, gave to this Society his voluminous manuscript journal from 1806 to 1849. This journal contains many curious and interesting details; but much of it is of so personal a character that it ought not to be printed during this generation. Many things, moreover, which are recorded in it were not within the writer's own knowledge; and as he was not careful to verify what he heard, his diary, if it shall ever be printed, will need more than ordinary editorial care on the part of the Publishing Committee. But without entering further on the

¹ Mrs. Barbauld was so moved by Dr. Priestley's discourse on Habitual Devotion, that she wrote immediately after hearing it an impressive poem, entitled, "An Address to the Deity," which may be found in her Works, vol. i. pp. 84-86. — Eds.

discussion of this matter, I desire now to communicate an account of a journey on horseback to attend the commencement exercises at Providence and New Haven which young Pierce took in 1795, two years after he graduated at Cambridge, and when he was only twenty-two years old. As more than ninety years have elapsed since that time, and as he recorded very little which did not come under his own observation, there can be no impropriety in printing the fragment now communicated for that purpose. I may add that a portion of the journey was through the same places described in a diary of Samuel Davis, printed in the Proceedings some seventeen years ago.¹ Dr. Dwight, whose inauguration as President of Yale College is described, was the grandfather of the recently elected President of the College. The account of this journey is copied into Dr. Pierce's Memoirs at the end of 1843; but the internal evidence shows very clearly that, with the exception of two or three paragraphs and a few words in various places, it was written at the time when the journey was made.²

Journey to Providence & New-Haven, 1795.

On Tuesday, 1 September, 1795, I left my father's house, in Dorchester, on horseback, to attend Providence & New-Haven Commencements, in company with my friend, the Rev. Abiel Abbot,³ H. U. 1792, who had just been ordained at Haverhill.

The morning was cloudy. At XII we took an early dinner at Clark's, Medfield. About this time, it began to rain, and drove us frequently to shelter. We halted at Mann's Tavern in Wrentham, near the Meetinghouse, situated on an extensive plain.

At VIII in the evening, we arrived at Slack's, in Pawtucket, 43 miles from Boston. We remained here, the night, in company with Messrs Appleton and Tufts.

Wednesday, 2 September, notwithstanding the rain, we proceeded to Providence, and stopped at Tyler's Hotel, near the Baptist Meetinghouse.

¹ *Ante*, vol. xi. pp. 9-32.

² The notes to this paper, unless otherwise marked, are by Mr. Smith. — Eds.

³ The Rev. Abiel Abbot, D.D., was born at Andover Aug. 17, 1770, and graduated at Harvard College in 1792. After leaving college he was an assistant in the Andover Academy, and in June, 1795, was ordained minister of a church in Haverhill, which office he held for eight years. Subsequently he was settled for many years in Beverly. In the winter of 1828 he went to Charleston, South Carolina, and afterward to Cuba. He returned much benefited by the voyage, but died of yellow fever at Staten Island June 7, 1828. After his death a volume of his Letters from Cuba was published; and several of his occasional sermons are also in print.

At X, we attended the Commencement Exercises in this House. President Maxcy¹ presided. Dr. Stillman,² of Boston, offered the concluding prayer.

In the morning the audience was small.

P. M. the assembly was larger. Twenty-six were graduated. The compositions of the students were exceedingly florid. No figures were too bold to be used. The students were much dressed. The speaking was very declamatory. We dined with the College Officers and invited guests in the College Hall. The President asked the blessing. Dr. Hopkins,³ of Newport, Author of the Hopkinsian system, returned thanks. He was then 74 years of age. He looked, as if he were 100. President Maxcy, at the close of the Exercises, made a solemn Address to the Graduates. I saw Classmates Angier and Avery, & Professor, afterwards President Webber.⁴

I spent the evening at the room of Mr. Wiswell, one of the graduates, in sacred music.

Thursday, 3 September, visited various parts of the Town of Providence. An elegant Meeting house, with two Towers, after the Model of the Church, in Hollis Street, Boston, was lately erected, in which Dr. Hitchcock⁵ preaches.

¹ The Rev. Jonathan Maxcy, D.D., was born in Attleborough, Massachusetts, Sept. 2, 1768, graduated at Rhode Island College (now Brown University) in 1787, and died in Columbia, South Carolina, June 4, 1820. He was a tutor from 1787 to 1791, when he was ordained pastor of the First Baptist Church in Providence, and President of the College for ten years from 1792. In 1802 he was chosen President of Union College, Schenectady, New York; but he remained there only a short time, and in 1804 he became President of Columbia College, South Carolina, which office he continued to fill until his death. He published numerous sermons and addresses.

² The Rev. Samuel Stillman, D.D., was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Feb. 27, 1737. At an early age he was taken by his parents to Charleston, South Carolina, where he received his education. He was installed minister of the First Baptist Church in Boston Jan. 9, 1765 and died here March 12, 1807, from paralysis. He was a warm friend of Brown University, and is named in the act of incorporation in 1764. His printed discourses are quite numerous. Among them is one on Nicholas Brown.

³ The Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D.D., one of the most famous of the New England divines and a zealous opponent of slavery, was born in Waterbury, Connecticut, Sept. 17, 1721, and studied theology with Jonathan Edwards. From December, 1743, to January, 1769, he was minister of the church at Housatonic. In April, 1770, he was settled at Newport, Rhode Island, where he died Dec. 20, 1803. His greatest work, the "System of Doctrines contained in Divine Revelation Explained and Defended," was first published in 1793, and has been several times reprinted.

⁴ Charles Angier died in 1806, and John Avery in 1801. The Rev. Samuel Webber, D.D., was born at Byfield, Massachusetts, Jan. 13, 1760, and graduated at Harvard College in 1784. From 1787 to 1789 he was a tutor in the College; from 1789 to 1806 Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; and from 1806 until his death, July 17, 1810, President.

⁵ The Rev. Enos Hitchcock, D.D., was born in Springfield, Massachusetts,

I viewed the improvements of Mr. Brown.¹ He has removed a Hill of about 83 feet in height into low land, to make a wharf, &c. He has a large Distillery, and fattens cattle from the remains of the grains, which have undergone the process of fermentation. He owns a large Wharf, at which lay an Indiaman of between 6 & 700 Tons.

P. M. we visited the Cemetery, two or three miles from the centre of the Town. It contains handsome Monuments, decent gravestones, and some elegant Epitaphs.

At V, P. M., we passed through Johnston, and arrived at Fish's, Scituate, where we spent the night.

Providence stands at the junction of Providence & Taunton rivers, and has the advantage over Newport by the superiority of its market. The buildings in general are indifferent, though some are elegant. The Baptist Church is one of the most elegant and spacious in the United States. It was built by [blank] Sumner,² father of Thomas W. Sumner, who has been an Architect. The College is a convenient brick edifice, commanding an extensive view of the surrounding country. They have a Theatre nearly finished.

Friday, 4 Sep. leaving Scituate, we passed through Coventry, and came to Dixon's, in Sterling, where we dined. This was taken from Volentown,³ and is the first Town in our course, in Connecticut, 26 miles from Providence.

Our conversation hither was on various subjects, and served to smoothe a very rugged road. In this region the soil is wretched. Fields of corn present a dismal appearance, amid a luxuriant growth of weeds, betraying a sad neglect of the scriptural declaration, "By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread," &c. The Legislature of Rhode Island have granted a Charter for a Turnpike, on which \$6000 are to be expended, the proprietors of which are to be refunded by a Toll.

March 7, 1744, and graduated at Harvard College in 1767. He was for several years minister of the Second Church in Beverly. In October, 1783, he was installed as minister of a church in Providence, where he died Feb. 27, 1803.

¹ Nicholas Brown, second of the name, was born in Providence, Rhode Island, April 4, 1769, graduated at Rhode Island College in 1786, and died in his native town Sept. 27, 1841. He was the founder of the great mercantile house of Brown & Ives, and one of the most munificent patrons of the College, which, in 1804, adopted the name of Brown University. His public charities were large and numerous. He was the father of John Carter Brown, whose collection of books relating to America, known as the John Carter Brown Library, is almost without a rival on either side of the Atlantic.

² The Hon. Samuel G. Arnold, in his Centennial Discourse, May 28, 1875, says that Joseph Brown, a member of the Society, was the architect, and that James Sumner superintended the erection of the steeple. James Sumner is described in the Boston Directory for 1789 as a "housewright."

³ The correct spelling is Voluntown. It is a little town on the border line of Connecticut, touching West Greenwich in Rhode Island. Davis gives the name of the tavern as Dickson's.

From Sterling we proceeded through Plainfield, where are 2 buildings of brick & of stone, for an Academy, which is in a depressed state through want of funds.¹

From Plainfield we passed through a corner of Preston, where we refreshed ourselves with watermelons, at Frye's, 8 miles from Dixon's.

Passing through Lisbon, where the variegated prospects of hills and vallies, rich and barren soil presented themselves to our view, we arrived at the City of Norwich, one of the 5 Cities of Connecticut, after crossing various streams, which roll into the Thames. This City, 45 miles from Providence, is situated at the confluence of two rivers, which united take the name of Thames. It is well situated for trade, as the largest vessel can approach it from Long island Sound. The buildings are mostly indifferent. Braman's, where we lodged, is a large, square brick building, 3 stories high. I called on Mr. & Mrs. Mosely, from Dorchester, my former schoolmates.

Saturday, 5 September, leaving Norwich, at sunrise, we travelled to New London, 7 miles of the way, over a Turnpike, for which we paid a penny. The sides of the road abounded in grapes and peaches. We breakfasted at Pool's, New London, an elegant Tavern.

This City, bordering on the Atlantic, is well situated and improved, for merchandise. The buildings are mostly new, as the City was nearly demolished, 6 September, 1781, by the traitorous Arnold. We were told, that this miscreant was dining at the house of a hospitable gentleman, when his emissaries approached to set it on fire. In this City, they are more *federal* than at Norwich.

From New London, we passed through Lyme, over a ferry, called rope ferry, as the boat was towed by a rope.

Travelling 10 miles, we came to the mouth of Connecticut river, which is here nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ mile wide, and divides Lyme from Saybrook. The street here is wide and level.

Riding 8 miles, we came to Widow Crane's, in Killingworth, where we took lodging's.

Lord's day, 6 September, We attended Killingworth meeting, and heard the Rev. Achilles Mansfield² preach from II Tim. II. 8. "Remember, that Jesus Christ, of the seed of David," &c. It being Communion day, our hostess having spoken to her minister, on the subject, we were, by vote of the Church, invited to unite in the Ordinance of the large [Lord's?] Supper, in a large and respectable Body of communicants.

¹ The Academy was incorporated in 1784, and is still in existence, with a lady as principal.

² The Rev. Achilles Mansfield graduated at Yale College in 1770, and not long afterward was ordained minister of Killingworth, where he remained until his death in 1814, at the age of sixty-three. He was a Fellow of the College from 1808 to his death.

P. M. my friend Abbot officiated to great apparent acceptance. Text, Romans I. 16. "I am not ashamed," &c. The Assembly was large and respectable, and gave us fine music.

After service, we passed the remainder of the day, and took tea, at Mr. Mansfield's.

The wife of Mr. Mansfield was mother of Mrs. Joshua Huntington, whose husband was minister of the Old South Church, Boston, and whose life has passed through several editions, here, and in Great Britain. She was then so young a child, that I retain no recollection of her [Jan. 1844].

It is observable, in all the maritime Towns, through which we passed, that great attention is paid to the building of ships, and smaller craft. This is 11 miles from Saybrook.

Monday, 7 September, in the morning, we were detained by rain, of which a great abundance has fallen, this season. The freshets have carried away many bridges; and much harm has been done to the crops by the redundancy of rain.

Dining on Tautog [Blackfish] we started with Mr. Clark Brown,¹ candidate at Machias, and rode, in the rain, through East-Guilford, West Guilford, Bradford, and came to East-Haven, and spent the night, in the same house with President Maxcy, with poor accommodations.

Tuesday, 8 September, We left East Haven, a little after sunrise, and came to New-Haven, dripping with rain. We took lodgings at Parmele's, a very good Tavern. The rain continued till noon.

P. M. we heard part of a sermon by Dr. Edwards,² in which he attacked Dr. Priestley on the immateriality of the soul.

P. M. I attended the inauguration of the Rev. Timothy Dwight, D.D.³

¹ The Rev. Clark Brown was settled as a Congregational minister in Machias, Maine, in 1795, and in Brimfield, Massachusetts, in 1798. Afterward he became an Episcopalian, and was settled in William and Mary Parish, Maryland, where he died Jan. 12, 1817. He received the degree of A. M. from Yale, Dartmouth, Brown, and Harvard; but he was not a graduate of either college.

² This was the second Jonathan Edwards, son of the famous metaphysician. He was born in Northampton May 26, 1746; graduated at New Jersey College in 1769; from 1769 to 1795 was minister at White Haven, Connecticut; in 1796 minister of the church in Colebrook, and from 1799 until his death, Aug. 1, 1801, President of Union College, Schenectady, New York.

³ The Rev. Timothy Dwight, D.D., was born in Northampton, Massachusetts, May 14, 1752, and was educated at Yale College, where he graduated in 1769. From 1771 to 1777 he was a tutor in the College, and from 1795 until his death, Jan. 11, 1817, he was its President. During the Revolutionary War he was for one year a chaplain in the army. In November, 1783, he was ordained over the church at Greenfield, Connecticut. He was a man of great learning and ability, and a voluminous writer. Among his best-known works are his "Theology Explained and Defended," in 5 vols. 8vo, two volumes of "Sermons," four volumes of "Travels in New England and New York," and his two poems entitled "The Conquest of Canaan" and "Greenfield Hill."

as President of Yale College. Dr. Eliphalet Williams,¹ first offered a short and pertinent prayer. Dr. Dwight then made the usual confession of faith, in such cases provided. In a Latin Address Dr. Williams invested in the President the rights and privileges pertaining to the office. The ceremony was concluded by a Latin Address from the new President. In the evening, there was an illumination of 8 candles to each window.

Wednesday, 9 September, This morning was ushered in by the loud discharge of a cannon, immediately under my window. As I was unacquainted with the custom, and in a deep sleep, nothing can exceed the consternation, into which I was at first thrown. It seemed, as if the earth shook from its centre, and the foundation of the hills was removed. A fit of trembling seized me, and tears bedewed my cheeks. My first impression was, that the end of all things was assuredly come; and that I should immediately be called to give an account of the deeds done in the body. The ringing of the bells and maturer reflection relieved my fears.

At XI, A. M. the Commencement Exercises took place in Dr. Dana's² Church.

President Dwight prayed.

Next succeeded a Funeral Anthem by the students, which was followed by a Funeral Oration on Dr. Stiles,³ last President of the College, by Professor Meigs,⁴ a gentleman, who, but just before, declared in the hearing of a Class, in the College, that he wished to God, that the Treaty, which John Jay had just negociated with Great-Britain had

¹ The Rev. Eliphalet Williams, D.D., was born at Lebanon, Connecticut, Feb. 21, 1727, graduated at Yale College in 1743, ordained minister of the church at East Hartford in March, 1748, and died in 1803.

² The Rev. James Dana, D.D., was born in Cambridge May 11, 1735, and graduated at Harvard College in 1753. He was ordained at Wallingford, Connecticut, Oct. 12, 1758, and remained there for thirty years, notwithstanding a protracted controversy which originated in some irregularity connected with his settlement. In April, 1789, he became minister of a church in New Haven, which office he retained until the latter part of 1805. He died in New Haven, Aug. 18, 1812.

³ The Rev. Ezra Stiles, D.D., was born in New Haven Dec. 15, 1727, and died there May 12, 1795. He graduated at Yale College in 1746; was tutor from 1749 to 1755, and President of the College from June, 1778, until his death. He was a man of great and various learning, and was one of the foremost figures of his time; but he is now best known as the author of a "History of Three of the Judges of King Charles I." One of his daughters married the Rev. Abiel Holmes, D.D., who was afterward his biographer; and another daughter was the mother of the Rev. Ezra Stiles Gannett, D.D.

⁴ Josiah Meigs graduated at Yale College in 1778. From 1781 to 1784 he was tutor, and from 1794 to 1801 Professor of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, and Astronomy. Afterward he was President of Columbian College, Washington, District of Columbia. He died in 1822.

been, instead of this, a declaration of perpetual hostility with our mother country !!!

The Exercises of the students, which succeeded, were performed to good acceptance. Two Orations, one on Capital Punishments, and the other on Commerce were performed by Mess^{rs} Cooley & Marchant,¹ candidates for the second degree. The Meeting house was not crowded. The greatest decorum was observed. There was no clapping. The students were handsomely dressed. They had more gestures, than are common at Cambridge. Perhaps their compositions would have been more chaste, had they enjoyed the criticisms of Professor Pearson.²

A prayer by the President; and an Anthem, "I beheld, and lo! a great multitude," &c. by Jacob French, an illiterate day-laborer, was performed in the most boisterous and tasteless manner imaginable by the students.

The President, in giving the Degrees, was obviously embarrassed; and, as he had not perfectly committed the Latin form to memory, he made frequent blunders in reciting it.

We dined with the College Faculty.

In the evening, I heard the "Concio ad Clerum," by the Rev. Achilles Mansfield, of Killingworth, before mentioned, from Daniel XII. 4. "They that be wise, shall shine," &c.

Thursday, 10 September, the Rev. John Marsh,³ of Weathersfield, introduced us to Dr. Dana, minister in the City, who treated us with great politeness. Under the accumulated weight of misfortune and hard duty he appears to be fast decaying, and tottering on the verge of the grave. After an hour's call, we took an affectionate leave of the Doctor.

The City of New Haven is laid out on a very regular plan. The land is level. The streets are wide and straight, and cross each other at right angles. In the centre is a spacious square, the sides of which

¹ The Rev. Timothy Mather Cooley, D.D., a descendant from Increase Mather, was born in East Granville, Massachusetts, March 13, 1772, and graduated at Yale College in 1792. He was ordained minister of a church in his native town Feb. 3, 1796, and continued its pastor until his death, Dec. 14, 1859; but during the last five years he had the help of a colleague. His classmate, William Marchant, died in 1857.

² The Rev. Eliphalet Pearson, LL.D., was born in Newbury, Massachusetts, June 11, 1752, and graduated at Harvard College in 1773. He was Hancock Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages from 1786 to 1806, and was also instructor in grammar and rhetoric. On the establishment of the Andover Theological Seminary he was appointed Professor of Sacred Literature, which office he held for only a short time. He was a member of the Historical Society from January, 1800, to August, 1810, when he resigned. He died at Greenland, New Hampshire, Sept. 12, 1826.

³ The Rev. John Marsh, D.D., was born at Haverhill, Massachusetts, Nov. 2, 1742, O. S., graduated at Harvard College in 1761, settled at Wethersfield in January, 1774, and died Sept. 13, 1821.

are formed by the Colleges, Churches, and other buildings. The University consists of an old and a new College, a Chapel between them with a steeple and bell, and a small dining hall. The Churches are a large brick building, in which Dr. Dana preaches, two churches painted white, in one of which Dr. Edwards lately preached. The other has had no pastor, since the Rev. Samuel, afterwards Dr., Austin.¹ Near these is an Episcopal Church. The beauty of the green is greatly impaired by the Burial ground ² in the centre, which, it is contemplated, to hide from public view by weeping willows. The City is said to contain 450 houses and 5,000 inhabitants. It is now attacked by Dysentery, which proves very mortal to young people. Last week, 27 died by this malady.

New Haven can never be a flourishing commercial City from two causes. It is difficult of access to vessels; and it has but an indifferent market.

In this, as in almost all other parts of Connecticut, through which we passed, the newest houses have no caps to the windows and doors. They have piazzas in front, or on their sides; and their roofs are generally sharp.

This City is now federal in its politics.

Thursday, A.M. at XI, 10 September, we left New Haven with the Rev. Abiel Abbot,³ of Coventry; and passing through North Haven, the upper Parish of Bradford, and Durham, we arrived at Middletown, and stopped at Canfield's. This is the IVth City in Connecticut. Their order is Hartford, New Haven, New London, Middletown, and Norwich. The streets are wide, straight, level, at right angles to each other, as at New Haven. The principal street is parallel with the river. There is an appearance of considerable trade, as there are several wharves. Their churches bear an ill proportion to their other

¹ The Rev. Samuel Austin, D.D., was born in New Haven, Connecticut, Oct. 7, 1760, and graduated at Yale College in 1783. He was ordained pastor of the Fairhaven Church Nov. 9, 1786, and dismissed Jan. 19, 1790. Afterward he was for many years minister of the First Church in Worcester. In 1821 he went to Newport, Rhode Island, to take charge of the church once under the care of Dr. Hopkins, but in 1825 returned to Worcester. He died in Glastonbury, Connecticut, Dec. 4, 1830.

² Since removed. [*Note by Dr. Pierce.*]

³ The Rev. Abiel Abbot, D.D., a cousin of Dr. Pierce's travelling companion, was born at Wilton, New Hampshire, Dec. 14, 1765, graduated at Harvard College in 1787, and died at West Cambridge (now Arlington), Massachusetts, Jan. 31, 1859. After graduating he was for a short time a teacher in Phillips Academy, and for one year Greek tutor at Cambridge. He was ordained minister of Coventry, Connecticut, Oct. 28, 1795, and dismissed, on account of differences of theological opinion, in 1811. Subsequently he was principal of Dummer Academy, and minister at Peterborough, New Hampshire. He was the author of a *History of Andover*, and also published the *Abbot Genealogy*.

buildings, as they are small and inelegant. Their Court House resembles a Friends' Meetinghouse; and their Gaol you might easily mistake for a slaughter house. In short, from the appearance of their houses of worship, there seems an aptness in the observation of a plain man, whom we met in the neighborhood, that the people of Middletown have more money, than grace. More shipping, it is said, is owned here, than in any other city, in this State. It is 27 miles from New Haven.

Friday, 11 September, leaving Middletown, we travelled, northward, on a road parallel with Connecticut river on the West. The views of the river, on the right, and the fertile land and fine farms on the left were incomparably beautiful.

Riding eleven miles, we came to Weathersfield, a town of a very rich soil, and noted for raising onions. Much of the land is intervale. The streets are wide and level. While I was contemplating the beauties of the scene, my horse fell flat on his belly; and I walked over his head.

The inhabitants thrive by the culture of onions. It is humorously said, that the females, quitting their usual employments of the needle and the distaff, think it not beneath them to cultivate with their own hands their staple commodity; and that they make their knees callous by kneeling to weed onions.

There is an air of elegance in their buildings. Their Meeting house is spacious and convenient. It is of brick, with a foundation of free stone, and has a high steeple.

We dined at the Rev. John Marsh's with the Rev. Josiah Whitney,¹ of Brooklyn, Conn. & the Rev. Mr. Backus² and lady, of Somers.

At IV, we rode to Hartford, 4 miles, on a fine road. This most elegant City in the State is on the Western bank of the river, 40 miles from the Ocean; and is navigable for vessels of 160, and sometimes 200 tons. Could larger vessels approach it, this city might become the Emporium of the Western world, as the soil, in its immediate neighborhood, is exceedingly fertile. Notwithstanding the disadvantages, under which they labor, the inhabitants have a brisk trade. Their buildings are far superior to any others in the State. Their Meetinghouses are not large, but neat. They have a State House, in forwardness, which excites the suspicion in some, from its magnificence, that it is contemplated by some to make this a Capitol, should there be a division of the Northern from the Southern States. It is 150 feet long, 50 feet wide,

¹ The Rev. Josiah Whitney, D.D., was graduated at Yale College in 1752, settled at Brooklyn, Connecticut, and died in 1824, aged ninety-three.

² The Rev. Charles Backus, D.D., was born in Norwich, Connecticut, Nov. 5, 1749, and graduated at Yale College in 1769. He was minister of the church in Somers from August, 1774, until his death, Dec. 30, 1803. He published an Historical Discourse on the town of Somers in 1801.

and 50 feet high. Twenty feet from the foundation are of stone, the rest of brick.¹

Their Gaol is a three story, square, brick building, the dungeon of which is in the highest story, instead of the lowest, as usual.

The Theatre is of wood, which more resembles a Barn, than any other building. We were told, that many in the City had a great rage for plays; that some who had just lost friends, and others whose nearest relatives were groaning on beds of sickness, would flock to the Theatre.

Sat. 12 Sep. We dined with the Rev. Nathan Strong,² a rival of President Dwight, as an eminent divine. Rev. Simeon Doggett,³ now of Raynham, Mass. then Tutor in Brown University, & candidate preacher, was present, who, hearing so many witty expressions from Mr. Strong, took it for granted, that he had the same liberal notions in Christianity with himself. But he was soon convinced of his mistake by broaching some of his peculiarities, and was accordingly glad to retreat to the discussion of subjects, on which there was a greater union of sentiments.

Mr. Strong was nevertheless a cheerful and social [man?] and treated us with great hospitality. The Dysentery prevailed at Hartford also, though less mortal, than at New Haven. Calvin Whiting, H. U. 1791, candidate preacher, at this time, lay sick of the disorder, of which he soon after died.

P. M. crossing Connecticut river, we left Hartford, and passing through East-Hartford and Bolton, we came to Coventry, 22 miles from Hartford and 60 from New Haven, and took lodgings with Rev. Abiel Abbot, H. U. 1787, minister of the place.

¹ Davis, writing in 1789, mentions the State House as a wooden edifice opposite to Bull's, a famous inn at which he lodged, and which was the starting-place for numerous lines of stage-coaches.

² The Rev. Nathan Strong, D.D., was born in Coventry, Connecticut, Oct. 5, 1748, and graduated at Yale College in 1769. In 1772 and 1773 he was a tutor in the college. He was ordained minister of the First Church in Hartford Jan. 5, 1774, and died there Dec. 25, 1816. During the Revolutionary War he warmly espoused the popular cause, and was a chaplain in the army. In 1796 he published a volume on "The Doctrine of Eternal Misery consistent with the Infinite Benevolence of God," and was the author of numerous other theological publications.

³ The Rev. Simeon Doggett was born in Middleborough, Massachusetts, March 6, 1765. He graduated at Rhode Island College in 1788, and after acting as tutor for several years, took charge of an academy at Taunton in 1796. At this time he studied for the ministry, and preached in the vacant pulpits in the neighborhood. From 1815 to 1831 he was settled as minister of the church in Mendon, and from the latter year to 1846 as minister of the church in Raynham. He died in that place March 20, 1852. His parents were Episcopalians, but in early manhood, and long before the separation in the Congregationalist body, he "became a Unitarian by conviction," to use his own words.

Lords day, 13 September, I attended Coventry meeting. The companion of my journey, Rev. Abiel Abbot, H. U. 1792, cousin and afterwards brother-in-law of his namesake, preached to a highly attentive audience, A. M. from Psalm XIX. 11. "In keeping them there is great reward."

P. M. from Mat. XXV. 21. "Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord;" on the present and future rewards of religion. In the evening, we called at Judge Root's,¹ who, finding that Mr. Abbot was not a Calvinist, in process of time, pursued measures, which led to his dismissal.

Monday, 14 September, at IX. A. M. from Coventry we passed through Tolland, where we called on Rev. Dr. Williams.² Crossing Willow-mantic river, we passed through Willington and then Stafford, and called on Mr. Willard,³ the minister, brother to the President of Harvard University. Hence we travelled through South-Brimfield into Brimfield, where we stopt for the night, 29 miles from Coventry. We had a restless night, on account of the heat, and a nauseous smell in our bed.

Tuesday, 15 September, We came to my brother's-in-law, Rev. Stephen Baxter,⁴ of Western, where we breakfasted and dined, and spent our time agreeably with the family, and Capt. Lovell and wife, of Medway.⁵

At IV P. M. we started for Leicester, on passing through Brookfield, we called on Rev. Dr. Fiske,⁶ and, in Spencer, on the Rev. Joseph

¹ Jesse Root was born in Coventry, Connecticut, in January, 1737, graduated at New Jersey College in 1756, and died in his native place April 5, 1822. After graduating, he preached for three years, and then adopting the profession of the law was admitted to the bar in 1763. He was a delegate in Congress from 1778 to 1783, and was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court of his native State in 1789. He was Chief Justice from 1796 to 1807. He was afterward a member of the Legislature.

² The Rev. Nathan Williams, D.D., son of the Rev. John Williams, of Deerfield ("The Redeemed Captive"), was born in 1735, graduated at Yale College in 1755, and died in Tolland April 15, 1829. He was minister of the church in that place for sixty-nine years.

³ The Rev. John Willard, D.D., graduated at Harvard College in 1751, and died Feb. 16, 1807, aged about seventy-six.

⁴ The Rev. Stephen Baxter was born in Medfield, Massachusetts, Aug. 31, 1671, according to one account, or September 1, according to another, graduated at Harvard College in 1788, and was ordained minister of the Congregationalist Church in Western (now Warren), March 9, 1791. He was dismissed in 1804, and died in Warren Feb. 10, 1846. During the last ten years of his life he seldom or never left his house.

⁵ Dr. Pierce was twice married. His first wife, to whom he was married Oct. 31, 1798, was Abigail Lovell, of Medway. She lived only a short time, and, May 6, 1802, he was married to Lucy Tappan, of Northampton, who survived him, and died Feb. 12, 1858.

⁶ The Rev. Nathan Fisk, D.D., was born in Weston, Massachusetts, Sept. 20, 1733, and graduated at Harvard College in 1754. He was ordained pastor of the

Pope;¹ and arrived at Leicester, at VIII½ in the evening, where I spent the night with my good friend, Preceptor Adams.² I found here Theodore Dehon,³ H. U. 1795, afterwards Bishop of South-Carolina, my successor, as Assistant-Preceptor in the Academy.

Wednesday, 16 September, Called on several friends, and at IX, A. M. journeyed for Medway. We dined at Davis's, in Northborough.

In the evening, passing through Holliston, on a very blind road, it being very dark, my horse, for the second time, this journey, stumbled, and threw me with violence on my breast. My first apprehensions were alarming, as with difficulty I arose, and regained my breath. I was however thankful, that no bone was broken. This was not the end of trouble. Though we took a guide through the worst of our way, we were bewildered in the woods and with great difficulty found our way to the hospitable mansion of Capt. Lovell, at VIII½ in the evening, with grateful hearts for our preservation.

Thursday, 17 September, Spent the day at Medway. Mr. Abbot went to Dorchester.

Friday, 18 September, joined him at Esq. Wales's.

Sat. 19 September, After accompanying the Wales family to Dorchester point, I dined with them, & returned to my father's, P. M. after an absence of 19 days.

The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP then spoke as follows :

I can add nothing, Mr. President, to what has been said of the letters of Dr. Priestley. He was a correspondent of Governor Bowdoin, who commended to his friendly care the younger James Bowdoin, when he went over to study at Oxford, after taking his degree at Harvard in 1771. But I

Third Church in Brookfield May 28, 1758, and died Nov. 24, 1799. He was a contributor to the "Massachusetts Spy," and printed several historical addresses and other essays or sermons.

¹ The Rev. Joseph Pope was born at Pomfret (now Brooklyn), Connecticut. He graduated at Harvard College in 1770, was ordained to the ministry July 17, 1773, and died March 8, 1826, aged seventy-nine.

² Ebenezer Adams was born at New Ipswich, New Hampshire, Oct. 2, 1765, and graduated at Dartmouth College in 1791. From May, 1792, to July, 1806, he was principal of Leicester Academy, and from 1809 to 1833 a professor in Dartmouth College, — first of the Greek and Latin Languages, and afterward of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. He died at Hanover, New Hampshire, in August, 1841.

³ Theodore Dehon, D.D., was born in Boston Dec. 8, 1776, and graduated at Harvard College in 1795. In 1798 he became rector of Trinity Church, Newport, Rhode Island, and in 1809 rector of St. Michael's Church, Charleston, South Carolina. In October, 1812, he became Episcopal Bishop of South Carolina. He died in Charleston, Aug. 6, 1817.

have found no Priestley letters among the Bowdoin Papers. It may be interesting, however, in this connection, to mention the fact that the late Henry H. Richardson, the eminent architect, whose recent death has been so deeply lamented, is stated to have been a great-grandson of Priestley.

Passing from this topic, let me say how glad I am to find myself at another social meeting of our old Society at Cambridge. We have had many social meetings elsewhere in former years; I hope we may have many more of them in future years. We have had them at Brookline; we have had them in Boston; and one of them was held at Nahant, under the auspices of the "Ice-King," as he was sometimes called, — our associate, the late Frederic Tudor, — when Prescott was able to drive over and join us from his villa on the Lynn shore, and when Sparks came down to give us the earliest account of the tour in Europe from which he had just returned.

But our meetings here in Cambridge — of which this, I believe, is the third — have been peculiarly notable. One of them was at Longfellow's on the 17th of June, 1858, when our charming poet received us so hospitably in the old Craigie Mansion, in which Washington had resided on taking command of the Army of the Revolution, and when Edward Everett and Charles Francis Adams and Chief Justice Shaw — to name no others — told us so many interesting anecdotes connected with the place and date of the meeting. But another of these Cambridge meetings was still more memorable, and can never be forgotten in the history of our Society. I refer, as I need hardly say, to the meeting at good George Livermore's in 1856, just thirty years ago. From that meeting came the library and large endowment of our great benefactor, Thomas Dowse. Mr. Dowse was a neighbor and friend of Mr. Livermore, and had been specially invited by him to come over to our strawberry festival. Age and infirmities prevented his acceptance of the invitation; but the occasion induced him to inquire into the composition and character of our Society, and he forthwith resolved to place his precious books, the costly collections of a long life, under our guardianship, and to make them our property forever. From that meeting the regeneration of our Society may thus be fairly dated. Cambridge strawberries have ever since had a pecul-

iar flavor for us, — not Hovey's Seedling, though that too was a Cambridge product, but what I might almost call the Livermore Seedling or the Dowse Graft, which were the immediate fruits of our social meeting at Mr. Livermore's.

I know not that any such special result may be anticipated from the third social meeting at Cambridge which we are now enjoying. But Cambridge brings back the memory not only of Sparks and Longfellow and Livermore and Thomas Dowse, but of the lamented George Dexter, and of our latest benefactor, John Langdon Sibley. Meantime our excellent host himself has done enough for our Society, during his thirty-six years of faithful and devoted membership, to render this meeting at his residence worthy of being associated hereafter with our most notable social meetings. I should have felt guilty of great neglect, as the senior member of the Society, had I failed to bear witness by my presence here this afternoon to the unsurpassed services of Charles Deane, of which I have been so long a witness. I only wish that I could have found among my old papers, as he kindly suggested to me, something worthy of being communicated at such a meeting; but I have searched in vain.

Before taking my seat, however, I will read a brief extract from a letter which I received only yesterday from our Corresponding Member, the Hon. J. L. M. Curry, now the United States Minister at Madrid. In referring to the recent birth of a new King of Spain, he says: "A unique custom prevails at this Court. On the day of the birth the Diplomatic Corps were summoned to the palace in full uniform; and when the 'Viva al Rey' was proclaimed by the President of the Council, we were invited to a room adjoining the Queen's chamber, where profert was made of the royal scion *in puris naturalibus*." Dr. Curry then adds what is more pertinent to our proceedings, as follows: "Under the superintendence of Mr. B. F. Stevens, our despatch agent in London, two persons have been examining the archives in several cities, and copying what relates to our Revolutionary period. To use a Western mining-phrase, 'the find' has been valuable. Irving, Prescott, and Bancroft have used successfully these unprinted documents, but they have not found, or have left unused, much that would richly reward a searcher. I have had several applications for fragments of history for brief periods,

for single occurrences ; but some competent authority should cause to be transcribed and printed all that relates to our Revolutionary and pre-Revolutionary period. A comparatively small appropriation by Congress would render available a mass of rich material pertaining to Florida, Louisiana, the Mississippi, etc." This suggestion may be worth the consideration of the Committee to which Mr. Stevens's proposals have been referred, and to them I leave it.

Mr. DEANE laid before the Society a bundle of letters relating to the Winslow family, and on his motion they were referred to Mr. Winslow Warren.

After the meeting was dissolved, the members of the Society remained, and with many invited guests passed a pleasant hour in the enjoyment of the hospitality of Mr. Deane.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1886.

THE stated meetings of the Society, which had been suspended during the summer, were resumed on Thursday, the 14th instant, the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, being in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the minutes of the two previous meetings.

The Librarian reported the gifts which had been made to the Library. Among these was a privately printed volume from Mr. Charles F. Adams, Jr., entitled "Episodes of New England History," which, it is intended, is to be followed by others describing in detail the periods which show the character of the people. Another book was from the Marquis de Rochambeau, an Honorary Member of the Society, giving a full account of the centennial celebration at Yorktown, to which the author was invited as a guest of the Government, and containing a French translation of the oration by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop on that occasion, as well as his words of welcome at Bunker Hill, and also narrating the writer's impressions of Boston and Cambridge, his visit to the College and the home of Longfellow, "the American Lamartine."

The PRESIDENT then addressed the Society as follows:—

The extended period of the summer intermission of our meetings and the dispersion of our members should give increased interest to the occasions, now but nine in the year, when we come together in these rooms. The vacation, which in its primary signification was confined in our own youth to a period of the intermission of school pupillage, now covers an interval in which workers in all toil—and in some pleasures—seek for release. It is pleasant to remind ourselves that much work appropriate to this Society goes on during the

intermission of its meetings. Our Publishing Committee furnish us to-day, for distribution, a new volume of Proceedings.

Events have occurred in this interval which would have deeply interested us could we have recognized them as they occurred. Three of our associates, whose presence and words have always given us pleasure and instruction, have been called from life.

Dr. Samuel Kirkland Lothrop died, at an advanced age, on June 12. His name has been on our roll thirty-two years. He was a faithful associate in historic tastes and in literary labor. Respectful and affectionate tributes have been paid to him, by professional and other friends, for his ministerial work and his valued charitable and educational services in this city of his love. He left to this Society, as a kindly gift, a portrait of Dr. Samuel Cooper, one of his distinguished predecessors in the ministry of the Brattle Square Church from 1746 to his death in 1783, a noble and effective patriot in our Revolutionary period, a correspondent of Franklin, Pownall, and others.

Very sudden, though with the warning of previous infirmity, was the death, on August 22, of Amos A. Lawrence. This honored bearer of an honored name, suggestive of all that is of loftiest estimate and regard among us, in mercantile enterprise and integrity, in wide-reaching benevolence and generosity, in philanthropy and patriotism, and in Christian virtues, passed before us with the attractions of a fine modesty, a delicate urbanity, and a serene dignity. To those who have known him here, these halls will always keep the charm which his presence gave to them, as our shelves and cabinets will preserve the voluminous treasures which he has bestowed upon us.

A sudden and most tragic disaster, on August 25, closed the life of our associate, Mr. C. C. Perkins, in the full vigor of his noble powers. He was a man than whom no one in this community was more highly esteemed and loved. He was especially valued by us as an historian of art. He had an exalted reputation here and in Europe. His fine natural endowments, his exquisitely cultured tastes, his elevation and graces of character, and the charm of his virtues and manners gave poignancy to the sorrow which followed the shock of his sudden death.

The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP then rose and said : —

I would gladly say a word, Mr. President, — if, indeed, any fit word has been left unsaid, — in regard to the sad losses which have befallen our Society since its last meeting. No three names on our roll, as that roll was made up for publication at our Annual Meeting in April, were associated with more of personal attractions and excellences than those of Samuel K. Lothrop, Amos A. Lawrence, and Charles C. Perkins. All of them, alike, were conspicuously eminent in their own widely different lines of life.

With Dr. Lothrop I first became intimate in rambling over the graves of the Pilgrims, at Plymouth Rock, after we had listened together to the brilliant oration of Edward Everett, sixty-two years ago. He was then a Senior at Harvard College, and I only a Freshman. But the intimacy which began then ceased only at his death. A more genial, generous, warm-hearted, whole-souled friend I have never known. In the pulpit, in prayer, in correspondence, and in social conversation there was a characteristic fulness of heart and strength of feeling to which no one could be insensible, and which no one who knew him can forget. Boston has had but few such impressive preachers, and but few more useful and valuable citizens.

Of good Amos A. Lawrence, the sterling integrity, the un-failing benevolence, and the untiring beneficence are known to our whole community. He was one of those liberal men, who not only devised liberal things, but who delighted to do them himself. Adding fresh honor to a name already crowned with honor, we might apply to him the opening line of one of Milton's well-remembered Sonnets, —

"Lawrence, of virtuous father, virtuous son."

Boston has had but few, if any, more exemplary and excellent men of business.

But what can I say of the lamented Charles C. Perkins, who, after achieving a literary distinction in Europe which secured him a place in the Institute of France, came home to devote himself to so many of the most cherished interests and institutions of our city, — to our common schools, to our Museums of Art, and to our ancient and honorable Society of

Sacred Music? His premature death, by a shocking accident which we shudder to recall, has left a vacancy which will long be felt, and which can hardly be filled, in every circle with which he was associated. Boston has certainly lost no one of purer character, of rarer accomplishments, or of more refined culture.

And thus we have been called on, in a single summer vacation, to part with three of our most valued associates. They will be the subjects, hereafter, of more adequate notices in our publications; but as the senior member of the Society, who welcomed their successive accession to our ranks, and has witnessed their services here and elsewhere, I could not forbear from offering this brief but heartfelt tribute to their memory.

Dr. SAMUEL ELIOT paid the following tribute:—

Charles C. Perkins was remarkable for his moral traits. His sensitiveness to duty, his feeling of responsibility for the use of time and talents, his thought of what he owed to others, were salient. They did not appear precociously, but grew in prominence as in strength during his manhood and particularly in his closing years. He learned to resist temptation to frivolity and dissipation when he was very young and much exposed to both. Idleness was never a temptation to him, and he labored early and late with a love of toil as well as of the fruits of toil. He seemed to be more and more conscious of a work to which he was called, and more and more set on fulfilling it to the extent of his powers.

His powers were evident from an early age. As a mere child he showed a love for music altogether beyond the common, and when he grew to boyhood he learned to use his pencil as very few boys at that time dreamed of doing. It was not here a period to excite or to foster artistic tastes of any kind. Few, very few artists, and no composers of any name, were known to Boston or to the country when he whom we are commemorating took his degree at college, and immediately embarked for Europe in order to study there what could not be studied here. Such a resolution, and such devotion to it as followed, cannot be estimated unless we go back forty years, and see how little there was in this community to inspire the purpose which henceforth ruled his life.

Ten years, more or less, broken by several returns to his home, were spent in artistic studies, embracing drawing, painting, and music. Three years were then passed in Boston, and again he went abroad, where he stayed twelve years more. During this time he published his chief works on Tuscan and Italian sculptors, and became a Corresponding Member of the Institute of France. He won great reputation as a writer, while his charms of manner and nature attracted many warm personal friends. He might have been excused, as few of our countrymen could be, had he chosen to remain abroad as an author or a dilettante, and leave his own people to themselves. But that was not in him.

He came back, as we all remember, to work among us for the rest of his life. The volumes he had already published were succeeded by others brought out here and in London and Paris. His return was at the moment of founding the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and into that movement he threw himself heart and mind, aiding it at least as much as any other of the founders, and informing it, as perhaps none other could do, with the knowledge he had gained of similar institutions abroad. He became a member of the School Committee, and soon the chairman of the sub-committees of music and drawing, taking up the courses already begun upon and carrying them far forward. There were, and there are, conflicting opinions as to the methods in these branches, particularly in drawing; but there can be only one opinion as to the fidelity and the perseverance with which he sought the ends he deemed most desirable for the public schools. Among other interests in which he took an active part was the Handel and Haydn Society, of which he resumed the presidency formerly held by him, and to which he gave a large share of his remaining years.

If I were asked which of all these varied labors stands out most conspicuously and most nobly as his monument, I should point, not to his beautiful volumes, worthy as they are of all honorable remembrance, not to his societies and institutions, not even to the Museum with which he was most deeply identified, but to the schools,—to the schools of our poorest or least fortunate children, on whose training of voice and hand he freely bestowed both culture and industry, and for whom, in this part of their education, he encountered more difficulties

than he is known to have met in any other labor of his life. The songs and drawings of these children and those coming after them are his best memorials, the most beneficent, the most imperishable.

Of his personal relations, his true-hearted friendship, his tender and gallant love for those nearest to him, his unswerving honor, his stand for lofty ideals, his truth to sacred principles, I do not attempt to speak. It has not been easy for me to speak of him at all with calmness; for he was more, much more to me than a friend, — he was my brother for forty years.

Mr. HIGGINSON added his testimony to the high character of Mr. Perkins, going back to early recollections as his school-mate and college room-mate. He referred especially to the admirable manner in which Mr. Perkins and his accomplished wife had preserved the American feeling and patriotic spirit in their household during their residence of twelve years in Europe; so that their family of young children, when they came to live in the United States, not only found themselves perfectly at home, but were really better fitted for American life than many families of home-bred children around them. The speaker also dwelt on the conscientious fidelity of Mr. Perkins to the public service, as shown in his long and often vexatious labors on the Boston School Committee; and also on the independence of character he had shown in establishing the present system of art instruction in the public schools of Massachusetts against the opinion of some sincere friends of art. Whatever might be thought of the question at issue, the proof of independence of character was the same; and the new building of the Normal Art School, now in process of construction, would form with the Art Museum twin monuments to the memory of Mr. Perkins.

Emphasis was also laid on the fact that Mr. Perkins's great achievements in the way of usefulness were not the result of great or peculiar genius, but of elevated tastes combined with untiring industry and the rarest purity of moral nature. In conclusion, the speaker pronounced the life of our departed associate to be the very best answer to the riddle which is puzzling so many social critics, — What is the proper career for our young men of fortune?

Dr. EVERETT spoke of Dr. Lothrop as one who preserved and perpetuated the traditions of the past, who loved not only the principles of New England but the moulds in which they had been cast, and who valued what had the stamp of sanctity and practical usefulness and made others value it.

Mr. JENKS referred to his associations with Dr. Lothrop from his earliest days, and continued as follows : —

Dr. Lothrop retained the spirits of youth and his interest in passing events until the last. Fond of recalling the past, out of his ample memory, richly stored from his experience, he would describe most happily his various contemporaries who had influenced this community and been honored by it ; and his remarkable powers of mimicry, so wisely used that probably but few knew that he possessed them, or how great they really were, added such vividness to his narrative that those of whom he spoke seemed almost to have been seen and known by the listener. Still he lived in the present, and was alive to its interests and activities, even after he felt himself debarred by the infirmities of age from participating in them. In all his reminiscence I never detected any unkindly feeling, even when he spoke severely, and of persons with whom he had not been in active sympathy. Of some, by whom he had reason to feel that he had been deeply injured, I never heard him speak with bitterness. Thus he illustrated Christian principles in his life. His religion was of a robust, active kind, with nothing of asceticism in it, nothing of the cloister, but a hearty religion of every-day life, without cant or extreme pretension, but sincere and worthy of respect. He believed that the minister's relations to the community should not be limited entirely by the care of his own parish, but that he should rightly be interested in the education of the young and in the relief and care of the poor ; and so he served long, faithfully, and acceptably on the Boston School Committee, and in many of our local charitable organizations, especially in that one, to which he seemed to be under what might be regarded as almost an hereditary obligation, which seeks through the influences of the Gospel to elevate and improve the remnants of the Indian tribes.

Of attractive presence, and endowed by nature with a marvellously beautiful and flexible voice, which he thor-

oughly understood how to use, he was an earnest and eloquent speaker, and for the last twenty years of his life speaking almost entirely without manuscript, seemed to gain thereby in power and impressiveness. He was, too, what the fathers called "gifted in prayer," drawing from the Scriptures and the book of Common Prayer, with which he was thoroughly familiar, the dignified and appropriate language of devotion, and happily adapting it to every occasion.

He had a fund of common sense, and was a judicious and prudent adviser, always ready to give attention and consideration to the case before him, yielding a ready interest, according to it careful thought, and not always dismissing it when he dismissed the applicant, as many another would.

As a member of this Society he was interested in its work, and felt it an honor to participate in it. He was not a voluminous historical writer, but his history of the church of which it was his pride to have been the minister, and his Fourth of July Oration before the city authorities of Boston, are not unworthy specimens of his gifts in the line of historical study and expression; and Dr. Everett has told us how strongly he had the historic sense, and how he showed it in preserving the traditions of the fathers.

In this community he will be missed; and by those who knew him, as so many of us have known him, his memory will be tenderly guarded and cherished.

The Council assigned the preparation of the memoir of Dr. Lothrop to Dr. Peabody; that of Mr. Perkins to Dr. Eliot, and that of Mr. Lawrence to Dr. Green.

Professor W. W. Goodwin, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member of the Society; the Very Rev. Charles Merivale, Dean of Ely, England, was chosen an Honorary Member; and the Hon. William A. Courtenay, of Charleston, South Carolina, was chosen a Corresponding Member.

Mr. Charles F. Bradford, of this city, through the President, presented a copy of his "Index to Clemencin's Notes to Don Quixote," which had been crowned by the Spanish Academy in 1876, and printed under the supervision of the Academy. It was voted that the thanks of the Society be communicated by the Secretary to Mr. Bradford for his gift.

Mr. WARREN made the following report concerning the Winslow papers, which had been committed to him at the last meeting : —

I have examined the package of Winslow papers referred to me at the June meeting of the Society, and report as follows : The greater part of them consist of family letters and letters from loyalists of more or less prominence, or from officers in the British service, relating to claims against the Government or details of provincial affairs of but slight historical importance. I have selected and placed in a package by themselves such as appear of special interest, from their contents, or from the high position of their writers. These I submit, with the recommendation that if the Publishing Committee deem them of sufficient interest they be published in the Proceedings. I will briefly refer to them in their order.

A copy of a letter from William Stoughton to Mr. Petit, dated Dec. 2, 1695, in reference to the loyalty of the inhabitants of Port Royal.

Two letters of Governor John Wentworth to Edward Winslow, April 16, 1779, and June 5, 1785.

Letter from Richard Russell to Edward Winslow applying for aid on account of losses by the burning of Charlestown.

Three letters of Lord Sheffield to Edward Winslow, Jr.

Letter of Sir William Pepperrell to Edward Winslow, Jr.

Three letters from Edward, Duke of Kent, to General Thomas Carleton.

Letter from Duke of Richmond to General Campbell.

Letter from Sir Guy Carleton (afterwards Lord Dorchester) to Brigadier-General Fox.

Two letters from Lord Dorchester to General Thomas Carleton.

Letter from Lord Castlereagh to Mr. President Ludlow, Dec. 18, 1807.

Four letters of Brigadier-General Fox to Edward Winslow, Jr.

Power of Attorney from Mather Byles, Jr., to Edward Winslow, Jr., to collect loyalist claims.

July 18, 1785, letter from Edward Winslow, Jr., to Mr. Gordon, giving humorous account of his experiences.

Sept. 25, 1779, an exceedingly interesting letter from an officer in Governor Wentworth's Volunteers to Colonel Fanning, containing an account of the expedition to Holmes' Hole and vicinity; it is unfinished, and without signature, but of remarkable interest.

A letter from Thomas Aston Coffin to Edward Winslow, Jr., Nov. 6, 1805, with mention of the death of Lord Nelson.

A letter from John Adams to James Sullivan, Aug. 2, 1796, of great interest, containing an account of the manner of settling the northeastern boundary of Maine and the map used; also a curious affidavit upon the same subject. The last two papers are of considerable importance in relation to the disputed boundary line, and contain information as to Indian names in the vicinity of Eastport, Maine. At the urgent request of citizens of Eastport, they were published in their local newspaper in August, 1886. The letter of John Adams is similar to one from him to Governor Cushing, published in the official volume, relating to the adjustment of the northeastern boundary. The affidavit of Boyd does not appear to have been published, though many others of like nature are contained in that volume.

Account of the funeral of Edward Winslow, and his epitaph.

William Stoughton to Mr. Petit.

SIR, — I have yours of the 1st of August past, wherein you assure me of the fidelity of the Inhabitants of Port Royal, & with what ready Obedience & duty they received the Orders of the Kings Government here. I am not unsensible of the difficulties they labour under by reason of an Ill Neighbourhood, & the need they have of better settle.^{ment} & assistance for their Protection; which has been laid before his Majesty, & doubt not but the next Spring such effectual Order will be taken thereabout that they will be made Easy, & freed from those inconveniencies to which they lye now exposed. I have permitted this Vessel, James Gooch Master, to come with necessary supplies for your People; whom I trust you will receive with all kindness, & grant him what assistance he may need. I do not readily entertain the report of that People's countenancing & succouring of the Privateers, well knowing they are laid under necessity thro' force to permit their coming

thither. You may assure yourself I shall not be wanting to give them what relief & assistance is within my compass, & in particular to testify my Respect unto yourself, being persuaded of y^r. good affection to his Majestys Service & Interest. I am, Sir,

Y^r lov: Friend,

Boston, Dec^r 2d, 1695.

W. STOUGHTON.

A true Copy.

Attest: JOHN AVERY, Sec^y.

MR. PETIT

Governor John Wentworth to Edward Winslow [Sr.].

LONDON, 16th April, 1779, Berners Street.

MY DEAR SIR, — M^r Thomas will tell you how unexpectedly he was hurried away, w^h prevents my enlarging. I wish'd to have said something about the Establishm^t of the Amer. Corps, but it is too late. Few, *very few* indeed, know the *real* cause of that wise measure. However, much is owing to Sir H^r Clinton; it neither *wou'd* or *cou'd* have been done without his *aid*. He was really friendly. As to the rest, be assured it was *not* done *essentially* where it will probably be supposed; your letter to me had a great hand in it. I wrote G. Brinley¹ as much, — before it was accomplished, remember. In this Country all things are not as they seem, & the Water that turns the Milk is sometime bro't from an unseen source, while the adjacent pond is suppos'd to do the business. Be careful not to mention me as an authority for any thing you know. The reason is obvious. If I can be of service to any or all the Amer. Corps as Regimental Agent here, they may command my best services. I mean to avoid any interference with the Inspector Gen^l department, w^h is quite a distinct thing. His Deputy here is my intimate friend, & a good friend to the service. Pray write me, & send all the papers you can get, with the earliest possible intelligence of *all* events. I w^d not value some little expence in this matter; it will do you good also, somehow or other. Benning will come out if our friend Brig^d Ruggles can give him a Lieu^t Col^l, or, if that is past, a Majority. No News here. I've sent all the papers to this day. Have wrote Fanning. Pray take care of my worthy Friend Benj^t Whiting, Esq., & Col^l Holland. God bless you, my *friend*, & believe me, as in truth I am, yours most sincerely,

J. WENTWORTH.

ED^d WINSLOW, Esq.

¹ George Brinley, of Boston, a loyalist, who settled at Halifax. See Sabine's *Loyalists*, vol. i. p. 255. — Eds.

*Governor John Wentworth to Edward Winslow [Sr.].*QUEBEC, 5th June, 1785.

DEAR SIR, — You will hardly expect to have a letter from me dated at this place; but it so happened that, sailing from Halifax, 23rd April, in the *Hermione* Frigate, intending to land at Cape Breton, we found ourselves there embarrassed with ice, & the Country covered with Snow. After trying from Cape North to Cape Rae, on our return to the former, we discovered an opening in the ice, thro' which the Ship was bro't with great dexterity. I twice landed, & with infinite difficulty penetrated an unpropitious Country, covered with 2 to 3 f^t snow, which had begun to melt, and thence became wet & too loose to bear any weight. After reaching the St. Lawrence I was glad to get back to the Ship, & we came on to this place to refit & repair. To-morrow we sail for Spanish River; from thence to Miramichi, Tatamagouche, &c., in Nova Scotia, & not impossibly, by one of those Rivers, into St. Johns. In the mean time permit me very earnestly to intreat your good offices for a worthy & distressed Family in this place, in procuring Justice for them.

Archibald McNeil,¹ late of Boston, was too much respected to be unknown to you. His remaining family have equal merit. He relinquish'd a valuable Property in N England, and loyally continued attach'd to Gov^t. His property shared the same fate as others in similar circumstances; but he had some consolation in possessing Lot N^o 3 or N^o 59, in Gage Town, on St. Johns river, originally granted to John Fenton.² Mr. McNeil represented his case to Gov^t. Parr, who promised to confirm his title, & that it shou'd not be escheated. Mr. McNeil goes to Quebec; and returning to occupy his land & prepare it for the reception of his family, he unfortunately lost his life, as you may have heard. The widow and children have now their greatest dependance on this Property, and I hope, thro' your kind aid, it will be recovered and established to them. My friend Col^o Winslow is well acquainted with the circumstances, and I am sure, if he is with you, will readily exert his influence & abilities in a cause of the most signal humanity and incontestible Justice, as this most surely is. I am sure, from thence, that Judge Ludlow³ must be the friend of our sollicitation, and that Gov^t. Carleton will protect it. I freely confess to you, my dear Sir, that I am exceedingly interested for the success of this matter, and will rejoice thankfully to acknowledge ev'ry exertion made in their favour. As there will be Expresses returning to this place, I shall be much obliged if you will write a line to Mr. McNeil, with your advice & opinion on their case, & with just directions as you may think

¹ See Sabine's *Loyalists*, vol. ii. p. 74. — Eds.² *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 420. — Eds.³ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 33. — Eds.

prudent for them to pursue. If it is convey'd under cover to Gov^r Hamilton in Gov^r C['] envelope, it will be safely expedited. Excuse this application; but in such a case I feel myself ascertained that you will participate in the motives that occasion it, and most obligingly add therein to the grateful Sensibilities of,

My dear Sir,

your very faithful
humble Serv^t,

J. WENTWORTH.

P.S. May I request you wou'd be so good to present my regards to Col^o Winslow, if he shou'd be with you; also to M^r Marston, Ludlows, Willard, Sproule, M^r Hazen & family, &c^a

Richard Russell to Edward Winslow.

NEW YORK, Feby 4th 1777.

SIR,— As I have not the honour of being acquainted wth You, I should not have thus Intruded on Your valueable Moments had not M^r Rough inform'd Me You knew My Family, and was so kind as to express a Disposition to Serve Me. This, Sir, induced Me to take the Liberty at this Time to request Your Intrest for Me, As I greatly stand in Need of Your or some other Gentleman's Influence to procure some Place under Government by which I may be Inabled to gitt a Subsistence, Which, in concequence of my Countrys Revolting from Government, I am at present deprive^d off. As I ever differd from the Populace, And I am sorrey to say the General recived Opinion Of Political Matters with that Infatuated People, And as I could not Joyn with Them in Their Mad Conduct, I have rather chose to be absent from the Place of My Nativity, My Family, and all my Conections; Which I have been Three Years. More then half the Time I have been out of Employ, and Earnt nothing, Cheafly ocasiond by Sickness. I was Twelue Months under the Doctors hands in London. From thence I took Passage to Quebec, Where I could have got a Ship, But was too Ill to take the Command of Her. From thence I took Passage to Hallifax, And as this Climet was more Temperate, I thought I had a better chance for the recovery of My Health, And in Hopes of geting Employ I came Here. I have been Sick ever since my Arrival, But at present am much better then I have been for aboue twelue months past, and am in hopes in a Week or ten Days to be in perfect Health. As an Addition to My misfortunes in the destruction of Charlestown, the place of My residence, My Habitation was consumed in the general Conflagration. Pardon Me, Sir, for being thus troublesome; And be Assured that If this my present unhappy Situation should induce You so far to Commiserate my present Circumstances as to Use Your Intrest

in my favour, And I obtain a Place under Government in Consequence of it whereby I may be able to procure a subsistence, Such Trust reposed in Me shall be discharged with the greatest Fidelity that Honour to My Self and Gratitude to My Benefactor can inspire, and that I will Embrace every opportunity to prove I esteem My Self now and as I ever shall,

While I haue the least sensibility left,
Your very much Obliged,
Most Humble,
And most Obedient Servant,
RICHARD RUSSELL.

P. S. I should haue apply^d to Brigadier Ruġles as a Country Man, As one untainted by disloyal sentiments, And as an Acquaintance of My Brother, who was Judge of Admiralty, But haue not the Honour of being known to Him.

To EDWARD WINSLOW, Esq.

Lord Sheffield¹ to Edward Winslow [Jr.].

WHITE HALL, 23 Jan., 1806.

DEAR SIR, — I propose to return into Sussex on Saturday. If you should be in Town to morrow morning, or any of your friends who can give information on the subject of the manuscript I sent to you, or respecting the New Edition, I shall be glad to see them.

I am, Dear Sir,
Your most faithfull Ser',
SHEFFIELD.

Lord Sheffield to Edward Winslow [Jr.].

WHITE HALL, Thursday, 19 June [1806].

Lord Sheffield is this moment returned from Woburn Abbey. He wishes to know what has passed with M^r Rose previously to his seeing that Gentleman. He proposed to call on him to morrow morning between ten & eleven o'clock, & shall be very glad if it should be convenient to Col. Winslow to call at White Hall before that hour.

[Addressed, "COL. WINSLOW,
240 Oxford Street, near Cumberland Place."]

¹ John Baker Holroyd, first Earl of Sheffield, the friend and correspondent of Gibbon. He died in 1821. — Eds.

Lord Sheffield to Edward Winslow [Jr.].

WHITE HALL, Friday [21 June, 1805].

DEAR SIR, — I found it impossible to see M^r Rose or M^r Batt. I shall write to both in a manner that will equally answer; & I propose also to communicate with you the first opportunity.

I have the honour

to be, Dear Sir,

Your most faithfull Ser^t,

SHEFFIELD.

[Addressed, "COL. WINSLOW, 240 Oxford Street."]

Sir William Pepperrell to Edward Winslow [Jr.].

WIMPOLE STREET, March 1st, 1785.

DEAR SIR, — I am to thank you for the favor of your obliging letter by your worthy Sister, & to express my concern at the melancholy events which brought Her at this inclement season to this Country. I most heartily wish Her a safe return To her Relations & Connexions in Nova Scotia, & that she may obtain thro' her representation an adequate reward for the services of a worthy, a loyal, & very respectable Family, — a Family whose welfare, I am sure I've no occasion to say, I most heartily wish, & shall be happy to promote to the utmost of my power. Wou'd to God I had had as much the ability, as I most certainly have ever had the Inclination, to alleviate the distresses of my worthy Fellow-Sufferers! They wou'd have been saved many a severe mortification, & I, God knows, many a sigh.

Believe Me ever sincerely

Yr's,

W. PEPPERRELL.

P. S. Do remember me to Col^o Fanning & all other Friends.

EDWARD WINSLOW, Esq^r.

Duke of Kent¹ to General Thomas Carleton.²

HALIFAX, 8th August, 1796.

SIR, — I have the honour of communicating to you the Commands of His Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, contained in a letter to me of 18th May, & received the 6th Ins^t, directing that Cap^t Hailes of the 38th Reg^t & Lieut. Lambton of the 33^d should forthwith without de-

¹ H. R. H. Prince Edward, afterwards created Duke of Kent and Strathearn, fourth son of George III., and father of the present Queen. He was at this time Governor of Nova Scotia, as well as Commander-in-Chief. He died in 1820. — Eds.

² Major-General Thomas Carleton, a brother of Sir Guy Carleton, and Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick. — Eds.

lay Join their respective Reg^{ts}; that of the former in the West Indies, & that of the latter in the East, both being on Service.

I should strongly recommend to your Excellency urging these Gentlemen to depart instantly, as in a late instance where compliance with a similar order was neglected the officer was immediately superseded.

As the post of Town Major & of Barrack Master will become vacant on these two officers leaving the Province, knowing your good wishes in favour of Lieut. Goldsmith, of your provincial Corps, & his serious claims for some provision, I have taken the liberty of recommending him in the strongest manner to my Brother, that he might be appointed to hold those two posts, in the same manner as M^r Lyon does at the Island of S^t John; in which I trust I shall be favoured with your most cordial support by letters both to the War office & the Commander in Chief.

With best remembrance to M^{rs} Carleton & the younger part of the family, I subscribe myself, with true regard,

your most obed^t

& very Humble Serv^t,

MAJOR GENERAL CARLETON,
&c., &c.

EDWARD,
Lieut. General,
&c., &c.

Duke of Kent to General Thomas Carleton.

HALIFAX, 21st Oct. 1796.

SIR, — I have taken the liberty of troubling your Excellency with these lines to inform you that Lieut. Foy is returning express with Government dispatches for the Commander in Chief: as such it will be forwarding the Service most [ess]entially if you will give orders that [s]uch assistance may be given him by the troops as will fall within their reach. I have nothing particular to communicate, except that, tho' not directly informed, we have every reason to imagine that the French Fleet, which attacked New found land early last month, will no longer give us any uneasiness this season.

I have the honour to remain, with Sentiments of perfect regard,

Your Excellency's most devoted

& obed^t Hum^e Serv^t.,

HIS EXCELLENCY
M^r GENERAL CARLETON.

EDWARD,
Lieut. General,
&c., &c.

Duke of Kent to General Thomas Carleton.

N^o 5.

HEAD QUARTERS, HALIFAX, October 28th 1799.

SIR, — His Majesty's arm'd Brig the Vixen, that was intended to convey me across the Bay of Fundy, not being yet returned from New-

foundland, and Admiral Vandeput expressing very great apprehension at the idea of sending her round so late in the season, I am under the painful necessity of giving up the idea of my jaunt to New Brunswick this Autumn, and to defer it until the Month of May next, when I trust nothing will occur to prevent my paying you a visit and reviewing the New Brunswick Regiment. In the mean while it is my desire that as many of the Corps as can be possibly accommodated with Comfort at S^t Johns should remain there 'till further Orders, and that none but such as *cannot* be accommodated *there* should be returned to Fredericton. The Company of the Royal Artillery under the Command of Major Robinson should certainly have *their* head quarters also in the same place; and unless you have some very urgent reason to require a small Detachment of them at Frederickton, I would wish them to remain altogether, with their Officers, at S^t Johns. Should you, however, find it indispensably necessary to keep a few Gunners at Frederickton, the party must not be more than a non-commissioned Officer's one, and they must join the head-quarters of their Company very early in the Spring.

As I am extremely desirous that the New Brunswick Corps should as soon as possible be made correctly Uniform, as well in Exercise and Manoeuvre as in appearance, with the Mode last established for the rest of the Army, I have to desire that you will forthwith send here two Serjeants, together with twenty Rank and File, under the command of a Subaltern Officer, to Winter at Halifax, for the purpose of being instructed under my own eye and by my own Adjutant in every thing that may be requisite to return them to the Regiment in the Spring as complete patterns for the rest of the Corps. You will be pleased, in making choice of the Officer and Serjeants, to bear in mind that they should be such as you may judge to be both most willing to receive instruction and most capable of hereafter delivering it when they have made themselves perfect in what they have to learn. As the Dress of the Corps is also a very essential point to be attended to for their good Appearance, I think it right you should send your Quarter-master, your Master-taylor, with a Serjeant, Corporal, Private, and Drummer from each of the Flank Companies, as also one of each of those Ranks from the Battalion, and all the Materials necessary to make up their New Suits.

These Men shall be immediately Clothed by the Taylors of my own Regiment on arriving here, and the instant this is completed they shall be returned to you. I think the best mode of conveyance will be in a small Vessel to Windsor, from whence the Men may be Marched to Halifax, and the Baggage conveyed in a Waggon. I am informed Schooners are frequently plying between Saint Johns and that place, so that it cannot be attended with either much difficulty or expence to

send the Men agreeable to this Order. The twenty men who are to remain here the Winter should be taken in equal proportion from each Company. They should be Men who have arrived at their full strength, but on no account such as are old or Stiff; and should you wish to send any Corporals in the number, it will rest entirely with you to act in that respect as you please. Their new Clothing should also be sent, in order that I may be enabled to have it made up here, so that they may appear on Sundays equally well with the rest of the Garrison.

I believe I have now mentioned my Sentiments upon every point respecting which it is necessary you should receive them. I shall therefore conclude; Subscribing myself, with high consideration and regard,

Very faithfully
and Sincerely
Yours, &c^a

EDWARD,

*General and Commander in Chief
of the Forces serving in British
North America.*

To

LIEUT. GENERAL CARLETON,
Commanding the Forces in
New Brunswick.

Duke of Richmond¹ to General — Campbell.

WHITEHALL, 5th May, 1786.

SIR, — I have the King's Commands to acquaint you that His Majesty has been pleased to direct that the two Companies of the 4th Battalion of the Royal Regiment of Artillery now doing duty in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick should be relieved by two Companies of the 1st Battalion, which are to sail from Gibraltar in the Gen^l Elliott Ordnance Transport, and may arrive at Halifax about the end of July next.

I am therefore to request that You will give Orders for the Detachments of the Royal Regiment of Artillery now at the different Out Posts to be relieved by the Infantry most conveniently situated for that Purpose, untill the arrival of the Companies of the 1st Battalion of Artillery, in order that those of the 4th Battalion may be as much as possible collected at Halifax against the Transport arrives which is to convey them to England.

I have the Honor to be,
Sir, Your most obedient
humble Servant,

MAJOR GENERAL CAMPBELL,
or Officer Commanding in Nova Scotia, &c.

RICHMOND, &c.

¹ Charles Lennox, third Duke of Richmond and Lennox, Master-General of the Ordnance. He died in 1806. — Eds.

*Sir Guy Carleton¹ to Brigadier General Fox.²*N^o 4.NEW YORK, 22^d Aug^t 1783.

SIR, — I have received your letter of the 6th instant.

In the Copy of the Orders which have been given out here, transmitted to you by the Adjutant General, you will find his Majesty's instructions to me with respect to the disposal of the troops, as well as the advantages held out to those who become Settlers in Nova Scotia. The 2^d Battalion of the 84th Regiment, and the British American Corps in Nova Scotia and the Island of St Johns, are to be disbanded as soon as possible, for which you will please to take the necessary steps, and conform in the reduction of the 84th to His Majesty's instructions, and, in disbanding the British Americans, to the regulations contained in the 3^d, 4th, and 6th Articles respecting the Musters, Lists of Officers, and Clearances of the Men to the day of their discharges, and with respect to their Clothing at present in wear or to which they may be entitled.

The Abstracts for the British American Forces are to be made up to the day of their being disbanded, and fourteen days pay from that day, without deduction, is to be given to each of the Non Commissioned Officers, Drummers, and private Men.

I have ordered that a Spade and an Axe shall be given to each Soldier here, whose future mode of life may require them, on his being disbanded; and you will please to order the same to be issued to each Soldier discharged in Nova Scotia in like manner.

You will please to send me Lists of all Men belonging to British Regiments under your Command who are entitled to their discharge and who wish to remain in America; also an Embarkation Return of those that are to go to Europe, that provision may be made for their Conveyance.

You will pay the 200 days Bat and Forage Money to the Troops under your command.

The several Corps should be discharged as contiguous as possible to the Lands on which they are to settle; for which purpose you will communicate with the Governor, and press him, not only to determine the spots for each Corps, but that he will also expedite as much as possible the location of lands for the Refugees on the River St Johns, which I am concerned to hear has been much delayed. As it is prob-

¹ Sir Guy Carleton succeeded Sir Henry Clinton as the English Commander in-Chief in North America. In 1786 he was appointed Governor-General of Canada, and created Baron Dorchester. He died in 1808. — Eds.

² Hon. Henry Edward Fox, a younger brother of Charles James Fox. His son, Henry Stephen Fox, was for some years H. B. M.'s Minister at Washington. — Eds.

able some of the Refugees going from hence, notwithstanding the exertions we have made, will not arrive till late in the year, You will be pleased to have the Barracks and Public Stores at Annapolis put into repair for their reception, or for the use of such troops as it may be necessary to send there. The British American Troops from this place will be sent to the River St Johns as soon as possible.

I have been informed that Captain Studholme has employed the Craft intended for the assistance of the Refugees on St Johns River in other Services, which has distressed them, and retarded their arrival at their settlements. You will order enquiry to be made into this matter, and that it may be prevented in future.

I enclose an Extract of a letter from the Secretary of State, which you will please to communicate to the Officers of the British American Corps, that they may be informed on what ground they stand as to their hopes of half pay. I have no other information on this subject.

The enclosed Account of Expenditures on the public Service at Spanish River by Lieutenant Fraser, of the 82^d Regiment, has been transmitted from Halifax; have it examined into by the Board of Accounts, and if it shall be found regular and justly due, you will order it to be paid.

The Secretary at War has given me notice that the Military establishment for Nova Scotia and Newfoundland is to consist of One Major General with one Aid de Camp, One Brigade Major, One Surgeon, and three Hospital Mates; and that Major General Campbell is named for the Command of the troops in that Province.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and
most humble Servant.

GUY CARLETON.

BRIGADIER GENERAL FOX.

Lord Dorchester to General Thomas Carleton.

N^o 6.

QUEBEC, 29th May, 1787.

SIR, — I have to acknowledge the receipt of Your letters N^o 9 & 10.

You will be pleased to direct the Surveyor General of the Province of New Brunswick to be at the Great Falls on the River Saint John on the 15th of July next, where he will meet the Surveyor General of the Province of Quebec for the purpose of settling the boundaries between the two Provinces. This done, it will be expedient to grant the lands at the different carrying places as soon as possible, that a road of communication may be established, and the proposed plan for a regular conveyance by Post once a month between Halifax and this place,

Since it has met with Your approbation and that of Lieutenant Governor Parr, carried into execution without delay. I am convinced many advantages will result therefrom immediately, though the carrying places between this and Fredericton must be tolerably settled before a complete security can be expected. I purpose to send M^r Finlay in order to make the necessary arrangements with the Post-masters of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

The Military Express from Halifax I understand has hitherto been a great discouragement to the Post Office. As soon as the above-mentioned conveyance shall have taken place this will no longer be necessary, except when dispatch or the importance of the letters may require a special messenger.

I am, with regard,
Your most obedient
humble servant,

DORCHESTER.

HIS EXC. BRIGADIER GENERAL CARLETON.

Lord Dorchester to General Thomas Carleton.

Duplicate N^o 20.

QUEBEC, 9 January, 1788.

SIR, — The King having been pleased to erect the Province of Nova Scotia into a Bishop's see, and by Commission under the Great Seal to appoint the Right Reverend Father in God Doctor Charles Inglis¹ to be Bishop of the said Province of Nova Scotia, with ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in the Provinces of Quebec and New Brunswick and in the Island of Newfoundland, I am to notify the same to You, and to recommend him to Your countenance and protection, not doubting but You will give him Your hearty assistance in all things which may tend to promote piety and good morals, as well as The introduction of useful knowledge in the province under Your government.

I am, with regard,
Your most obedient
humble servant,

LIEUT. GOVERNOR CARLETON.

DORCHESTER.

¹ Dr. Charles Inglis, formerly Rector of Trinity Church, New York, was consecrated first Bishop of Nova Scotia, in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, Aug. 12, 1787. The position had been previously offered to Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, who declined it on account of ill health. See Sabine's *Loyalists*, vol. i. pp. 302, 303, 563-565. — Eds.

*Lord Castlereagh¹ to Mr. President Ludlow.²*DUPLICATE
CIRCULAR.DOWNING STREET,
18th December, 1807.

SIR, — His Majesty having been pleased to order Letters of Marque and Commissions of Privateers to be granted against the Ships and Goods belonging to the Emperor of Russia or to any Persons being Subjects or inhabiting within any of the Territories of The Emperor of Russia, I am to signify to You The King's Commands that you instantly cause the same to be made as public as possible within the Province under your Command, in order that His Majesty's Subjects may do their Utmost in their several Stations to make Captures of the Ships belonging to Russia, and to destroy its Commerce.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your Most Obedient
humble Servant,

To / M^r PRESIDENT LUDLOW,
&c., &c., &c.

CASTLEREAGH.

Brigadier-General Fox to Edward Winslow [Jr.].

SIR, — I Suppose you have received M^r Chippenhams Letter from N. York on the Subject I Take the Liberty of writing to you upon. I Should be happy to hear by the first opportunity if the proposal is agreeable to you, as I most sincerely wish it may suit with your Views.

I Should not have taken the Liberty of proposing such a Thing to you had not your acquaintance, Judge Ludlow, assured me you would not be Offended at the Liberty I have taken in making the Offer of the appointment Of Secretary to me as Com^d Officer of the Troops in N. Scotia. Col. De Lancy³ has promised to forward this by the first opportunity.

I am, Sir,

Your most

Obedient Humble Servant,

HALIFAX,

July 31st,

1783.

B^a G. Fox (?).

¹ Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, at this time Secretary of State for the War Department. — Eds.

² George Duncan Ludlow, at this time acting Governor of New Brunswick. See Sabine's *Loyalists*, vol. ii. pp. 33, 34. — Eds.

³ Colonel James De Lancey, of New York, died at Annapolis, Nova Scotia, in 1800. See Sabine's *Loyalists*, vol. i. p. 369. — Eds.

Brigadier-General Fox to Edward Winslow [Jr.].

D^r SIR, — I have heard nothing from M^r Thompson in answer to my Letter of this Day. I am to go to Morrow Morning with Col. Morse to the Governour, before Ten OClock, about the Bussiness I mentioned to you as I was dressing. I wish to Talk to you on the Subject before I go, as the more I think of it, the more I think the sending Troops might produce the most serious Consequences. At the same Time not only my instructions but my real Desire would be to attend to every wish & opinion of the Governour, & even Obedience to his orders as Governour, where I did not commit myself or prejudice the Service.

Yours most sincerely,

H. E. Fox.

THURSDAY NIGHT.

Be so good as to bring Cap^t Studholmes Letters with you.

Brigadier-General Fox to Edward Winslow [Jr.].

LONDON, 14th April [1784].

D^r WINSLOW, — In the first Place I must talk to you about the last Letters you wrote here. You are too Warm, & your idea of the Loyalists & Provincials defending their Lands on the Saint Johns River was by some means communicated to Sir Guy Carleton, & at first, I Believe, much displeased him; but every thing has been set to rights by your Friends with him.

What I Told you in my last has happened. Lord Sydney¹ some Days ago sent an express to me, being with my Regiment at Stafford, & offered me the Government of the New Province (which by the by is to be called New Ireland), & informed me at the Same Time the Government General was to be offered to Sr. Guy Carleton. My answer was that my own affairs, in which were involved those of my Nephew, were in such a critical situation that I could not decide for a few Days. This was really the case at that Time; besides, I wished to know what Sir Guys intentions were, which to this Moment I can not find out. I returned to London yesterday, & this Day informed Ld. Sydney, after thanking him for his offer, that if Sir Guy went I should be extremely happy to attend him. Ld. S——y then surmised if no Governour General was sent would I accept of it, which I gave in to, provided S^r Guy or myself Named the Principal Officers, or at least I should have the Power of putting the Negative upon any proposed. All this, tho not absolutely

¹ Thomas Townshend, first Viscount Sydney, at this time Secretary of State for the Home Department, under whose jurisdiction the Colonies then were. — EDS.

promised, seemed aggred to. As from the Hurry of Election no council will be assembled for some Days, I asked Lord Sidney if he had any further Commands, as I wished to return to my Regiment, which he aggred to, saying he would send an express to me when any Thing was determined on.

I own, unless Sir Guy Carleton goes out Governour General, I do not see much prospect of its going on well. I think myself they will tempt him to go out, tho he at present dos not seem inclined to it. However, at any rate if I go Judge Ludlow goes as Chief Justice; that I settled with L^d Sydney this Morning, & from Conversations I have had with Sir Guy Carleton, Upham,¹ Blowers,² & Chipman³ will be thought of.

There is also an out of Doors Report that if S^r Guy Carleton dos not chuse to go, the Government General will be offered to Gen. Vaughn or Christie, in either which case I stay at home, — the one I know nothing of, the other I know too well; but this I Believe is not true. *In case of this takeing Place, I trust to what you promised me when at Halifax, of your acceptance of the Secretareship of the Province, which I have accordingly settled with Sir Guy Carleton.*

Notwithstanding all this, do not be too sanguine, as there are a Thousand Things may happen to prevent the intended arrangements taking Place. Particularly if Sir Guy Carleton dos go out as Governour General, I for one am determined not to go without him, unless every Thing is so arranged beforehand as to have a prospect of Establishment & success. I had omitted in the beginning to tell you Col. Carleton is thought of as Governour of Quebec, & Musgrave for Halifax, as soon as an appointment equal to the present Governours abilitys can be found for him. If all this takes Place, I certainly go in good Company.

Billy Bayard⁴ has opposed all this, & has handed about an intended Memorial for all Loyalists to sign, requesting Governour Franklin might be appointed Governour; but it met with so little encouragement from them that he dropped it the second Day, having got only three or four Names to it. For God sake keep the Whole of this Letter to yourself, & be not too sanguine or violent untill something is determined upon; I will write to you the Moment it is. If we go out to you I Believe I Shall commission you to buy me some Hovel at Marysville for immediate use. There was Justices near Glorins [?] House a little

¹ Joshua Upham (H. C. 1763), afterwards Judge of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, died 1808. — Eds.

² Samson Salter Blowers (H. C. 1763), afterwards Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, died 1842. — Eds.

³ Ward Chipman (H. C. 1770), afterwards Judge of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, died 1824. — Eds.

⁴ William Bayard, of New York, a prominent merchant and loyalist. He died at Southampton in 1804. See Sabine's *Loyalists*, vol. i. p. 217. — Eds.

below Peabodys, that if he would sell I think would do very well; but nothing of this can be thought of at present. Believe me,

Yours most sincerely,

Brigadier-General Fox to Edward Winslow [Jr.].

BRIGHTHELMSTONE, 5th August, 1784.

DEAR WINSLOW,—My only excuse for not writing to you sooner is that I did not know what to inform you of as determined. I will now begin from my last Letter, soon after the writeing of which Lord S——y sent to me & told me the Province was to be divided, & offered me the Government of New Brunswick. My answer was that the situation of my own affairs (my Fathers Publick accounts not being yet settled), in which were involved those of My Nephew, was such that I could not give his Lordship an immediate answer; but if Sir Guy Carleton went out Governour General, I would run all risks & attend him at any Rate. It was then generally understood that G. Parr was to come home & Musgrave to be appointed Governour of Halifax & Col. Carleton of Canada. G. Parrs Friends (I Believe Lord Shelburne) have averted his being recalled, Sir Guy Carleton having tho absolutely refused the appointment. About Six Weeks ago Lord Sydney sent for me again, & acquainted me that the Government of N. Brunswick was arranged in Council, & made me the offer of it, observing that S^r Guy Carleton was not to go out, that no Governour-Gen^l was for the present to be appointed, but in Time some one would be found that would be agreeable to every Body. I found also that G. Parr was not to be recalled, nor Genl Haldimand from Canada.

It is necessary to mention in the mean Time I had found it absolutely necessary for my Nephews affairs & my own for me to take out Letters of Administration to my Fathers will, in order, if possible, to adjust the Publick accounts, or Government would, & have sold every Thing belonging to our Family to pay themselves. This consideration, & the very different situation I should find myself in, S^r Guy Carleton not being Governour General, & possibly some One afterwards appointed who I might not agree with, & the diffuse method of doing Bussiness in Halifax, which I am confident will be the Case while the present G—— & his Advisers remain there, induced me to decline it, upon which it was offered to Musgrave, who also declined it, & then to Col. Carleton, who at first did the Same, but has since accepted of it, as I understand, upon a promise of his Going to Canada next year; but, however, next year is a long while upon determining not to go myself. I immediately thought of your interests, but found that M^r Odell was fixed upon by Col. Carleton at the recommendation of his Brother.

Sproule had before been appointed Surveyor General, & there was nothing your friends could think of for you that was not already filled up. *Odell gos to Canada when Col. Carleton dos. I Have had some conversation with Carleton, & have talked much of you; indeed, I found him already prepossessed in your favour thro Odell, who I Believe is much your friend.*

I have received a Letter from Governour Parr in very civil Terms, but at the Same Time he appears very much hurt, & accuses you of being the author a foolish advertisement of M^r Aplin, who I must own I should have been better pleased with had he, M^r Aplin, not made use of my Name or brought me in his squabble.

I have answered the Governours Letter, saying in pretty near as plain Terms *as he accuses you*, that I Hope & Believe he is misinformed with respect to you. I hope he will shew my Letter, as in at least it will give full Testimony of my Opinion of you, which Believe me, Dear Winslow, I Shall ever retain the highest, & hope fortune will still by some means or other bring us together again. Pray let me hear from you, & if by any means I can do anything for you in this Country pray command me.

Upon the receipt of your last Letter, on which I most sincerely condole with you, I went to M^r Watson, who took the first opportunity of going to the Commissioners, & he has empowd me to inform you he is in great Hopes he will be able to get 30 Pound per Year to your Mother & each of your Sisters,—the 30 to your Mother to fall off upon her Death, & another 30 in case of either of your Sisters Death.

Please to direct to me at my Brothers in S^t James Street, London, & believe most

sincerely Yours,

B^e G. Fox

Power of Attorney from Mather Byles, Jr., to Edward Winslow [Jr.].

KNOW all Men by the Presents, That *I, Mather Byles, an American Loyalist now residing at Halifax in the Province of Nova Scotia,* Have constituted, made, and appointed, and by the Presents do constitute, make, and appoint, *my trusty and loving Friend Edward Winslow, Esquire, Muster Master General of the His Majestys late Provincial Forces,* lawful Attorney for *me*, and in *my* Name and Stead, and to *my* Use, to ask, demand, sue for, levy, recover, and receive all such Sum and Sums of Money, Debts, Rents, Goods, Wares, Dues, Accounts, and other Demands whatsoever, which are and shall be due, owing, payable, and belonging to *me* or detained from *me*, any Manner of Ways or Means whatsoever, by *any person whatever. More especially in my name and on my behalf to appear, apply for, and obtain from His Excellency Thomas*

Carleton, Esq., Governor of the Province of New Brunswick, or any person or persons whatever, authorized by him, such Grant or Proportion of land as I may be entitled to as an American Loyalist.

Giving and Granting unto *my* said Attorney, by these Presents, *my* full and whole Power, Strength, and Authority in and about the Premises, to have, use, and take all lawful Ways and Means, in *my* Name, for the Recovery thereof; and upon the Receipt of any such Debts, Dues, or Sums of Money aforesaid, Acquittances, or other sufficient Discharges, for *me* and in *my* Name, to make, seal, and deliver, and generally all and every other Act and Acts, Thing and Things, Device or Devices, in the Law whatsoever, needful and necessary to be done in and about the Premises, for *me* and in *my* Name, to do, execute, and perform, as fully, largely, and amply, to all Intents and Purposes, as *I* might or could do if *I* personally present, or if the Matter required more special Authority than is here given, and Attornies, one or more under *him* for the Purpose aforesaid, to make, constitute, and again at Pleasure to revoke, ratifying, allowing, and holding for firm and effectual, all and whatsoever *my* said Attorney or his substitutes shall lawfully do in and about the Premises, by Virtue hereof. In WITNESS whereof *I* have hereunto set *my* Hand and Seal *this twentieth Day of November* in the *Twenty fifth* Year of his Majesty's Reigu, ANNO DOMINI One Thousand Seven Hundred and *Eightyfour*.

MATHER BYLES.

SEAL.

Sealed and Delivered in }
the Presence of }

H. M. GORDON.

ROB. OBRIEN.

Edward Winslow, Jr., to Mr. Gordon.

ST. JOHN'S, 18, 1785.

D^r GORDON, — Neither S^t Paul nor any other old fashion^d Buck ever experienc^d half so great a variety of difficulties & embarrassments in one month as I have in the last. The transportation of a sickly Wife, three little Brats, & a large collection of lumber across the Bay of Fundy was no inconsiderable job. I was saluted with a very severe fit of the Gout. That over, I found here no preparation for my reception, & I was oblig^d to tumble Mrs Winslow & the little ones into the crowd that fill^d the House at Portland-point, & before I cou^d swear three long oaths the Ship Parr made her appearance & disembark^d the other family, who of co[urse] made a considerable addition to the party. In this dilemma I hunted Wanton out of Tyng's house & placed my mothers family there. I collected all the Carpenters, Masons, & Labourers that

could be found, & I have ever since been up to the Eyes in mud, mortar, &c. I am now emerging from this state, & in a few days I expect to see both Families comfortable. Before I proceed further let me say in one short sentence, & for the last time, That I feel the most cordial gratitude for every mark of attention which you & my other friends shew^d to my unfortunate old mother & sisters while they resided at Halifax.

Immediately after my arrival I commenc^d my operations to form a Board of Acc^{ts} agreeable to the General's order. The Gov^t consented to the nomination of two respectable merchants, [Me]ss^{rs} Donaldson & Gordon, & tomorrow they set to examine M^r Lambton's acc^{ts}. I shall do the duty of Sec^y to the Board myself, as the appointment of another person wou^d necessarily be attended with some expence. By the inclosed letters you will see that M^r Com^r Hecht has declined submitting his acc^{ts} to the Board here. I have communicated them for the General's information. I thought it best on my first setting out to give official notice to every Officer of public Departments in the District of the Institution of the Board, & as M^r Hecht's Acc^{ts} were of the most importance I propos^d that they shou^d be first examin^d, & the Board were waiting to inspect them when I rec^d the answer N^o 2. I hope [your Ge]neral will not think the expressions in my Reply unwarrantable. I know not from what Quarter M^r Hecht may have rec^d his advice, but it appears to me that his conduct is very reprehensible. I beg You will have the goodness to assure the General that I shall carefully avoid any further altercations with him, & that whenever his accounts are presented I shall endeavor to examine 'em with candour & impartiality. In the mean time We shall go on with the other accounts, & as I transmit 'em I will report my private opinion of such of the charges as appear irregular or wrong. M^r Campbell & M^r Garden are expected every hour. I shall postpone my intended excursion up the river until their accounts are settled. I have also wrote M^r Tailer the Comiss^y at Passamaquoddy to attend here. I [have] been induced to take this step because the provision which has been issued by him is generally in consequence of M^r Knox's muster or orders from the Commandant here, & of course his Acc^{ts} may be check^d by their information.

I regret Hecht's obstinacy, because there are a considerable number of people to whom he is at this time indebted, who are really distress^d, & who cannot possibly go to Halifax for their money, nor can they negotiate Bills on that place. I will not presume to advise relative to the mode of paying the sums due at this place, but have only to say that whatever method is adopted I shall hold myself obligated, without fee or reward, to afford every [assistance] in my powers, & that I shall as cheerfully obey General Campbell's orders *after* I cease to be his Secretary, as I did *before*.

Whenever the public business will admit, I shall beat my march to St Ann's, where I intend to provide some kind of a habitation for my family. The enormous rents & other expences here render it impossible for me to halt long.

My Gout has been particularly attach'd to my right Hand, & has almost disabled my thumb. I have not been able to Write a line till to-day, & now dare not indulge too far.

*Letter to Colonel Fanning.*¹

NEWPORT, RHODE-ISLAND, 25th Sept^r, 1779.

SIR, — I have the honor to report to you, That in pursuance of the plan agreed on at New-York, I on the 6th ins^t embark'd with Governor Wentworth's Volunteers on board the armed Vessels under comānd of M^r Leonard, and on the 9th we arrived at the harbor of Holmes-hole in the island of Martha's-Vineyard. The Rebels on the coast had (as usual) been informed of our preparations, and on our approach were in motion all the distance from Seconet-point to Hyannas; the militia of the three counties of Plymouth, Bristol, & Barnstaple were on the march, and the artillery moved from the town of Plymouth towards Falmouth. Finding that Martha's Vineyard was our object, the Troops & Cannon were countermanded, and they only reinforced the two posts of Bedford & Falmouth; at the former they stationed two hundred & fifty men, at the latter three hundred men with three Field-pieces. As it was your advice as well as my Inclination to endeavor at conciliating the affections of the Inhabitants of these Islands by every means in my power, and at the same time not to insist upon the performance of any services from them which might subject them to the resentment of the rebels after my departure, I immediately forwarded the Requisition N^o 1 of the inclosed papers, accompanied by the letter N^o 2, — the one for their justification for coming on board, the other as a proof of our friendly intentions. The Gentlemen from Edgartown returned an answer N^o 3, and the next morning (the 10th) a considerable number of the most respectable Inhabitants from the several Towns attended me on board the Restoration. To them I candidly communicated the nature of our business, and delivered a demand signed by m^r Leonard & myself for a quantity of wood, which is N^o 5; at the same time I inform'd them of my order N^o 4, a similar one to which M^r Leonard had issued to the sailors under his comānd. These orders the gentlemen acknowledged'

¹ Edmund Fanning (Y. C. 1757), a distinguished loyalist, who was Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia and of Prince Edward's Island, and attained the rank of general in the English army. He died in London in 1818. See Sabine's *Loyalists*, vol. i. p. 415. — Eds.

were perfectly to their satisfaction. They, however, suggested a variety of difficulties which might attend their compliance with our request, and anticipated the most fatal consequences to themselves. To obviate all their objections, Mr Leonard join^d with me in consenting that they should send a committee to the commanding-officer at the opposite post, and another to the General-Assembly of the province of Massachusetts-Bay, to inform them of our arrival and of our requisitions, and to ask their protection, or declare the necessity of their compliance. This proposal they readily agreed to.

Before I proceed farther in my journal of Occurrences, I shall beg leave to observe That the Inhabitants of the Elizabeth-Islands are now in a predicament peculiar to themselves. Their situation is such as to admit of a free & constant intercourse with the people of the Main, while their interviews with those in the King's service are accidental, seldom, & short. Reports favorable to the Rebels are circulated with extreme assiduity; prejudices are imbibed, and (for want of authentic intelligence) egregious mistakes are made relative to important facts. At the commencement of hostilities they engaged with reluctance, because they were exceedingly exposed to depredations from either party; but at length, by the stratagems of the rebels & their immediate influence from local circumstances, they were seduced into the commission of open acts of treason, and they continued in arms against the King until they were deprived of them by Maj: Gen: Grey¹ in Sept, 1778. He also obliged them to furnish considerable supplies for the King's Garrisons. By this exertion of the British Troops they were not only more confirmed in their ideas of danger, but they were also furnished with a sufficient apology for remaining in a state of neutrality & peace. The Rebels (altho averse to a relinquishment of their dominion over them) did not suppose them of such consequence as to risque an army in their defence, but left them to make the best terms they could obtain upon all occasions, still exercising a right of taxation, and obliging them to pay respect & obedience to the laws enacted by their usurped powers.

Ever since that time their commerce with the Rebels has been unrestrained, and it was very apparent that they were returning to the state in which General Grey found them, from the same causes which originally engaged them; and they had really indulged themselves in such habits of reasoning and concluding that in a little time more they would have been firmly fixed on the side of rebellion.

It was my first endeavor to contradict some of their general assertions with as much gentleness as possible, and by degrees to communicate such information relative to public matters as I knew to be facts.

¹ Sir Charles Grey, afterwards first Earl Grey, and the father of the distinguished statesman and Prime Minister, 1830-1834. — Eds.

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Particularly, That a reinforcement was arrived ; That the British nation were not apparently disconcerted at the declaration of war from the Court of Madrid ; That the Independence of America would not probably be the consequence of such declaration, &c., &c. It required no great degree of penetration to discern that these assurances had a good effect, for (altho' they at first listened with reluctance, and like men afraid to hear) they afterwards became exceedingly familiar and almost impertinently inquisitive. Conscious also that in various respects they had deviated from their agreement with General Grey, they expected severity from us. A conduct directly opposed to such expectation disappointed them agreeably, & procured us their confidence ; so that, from being timid, ambiguous, & cunning, they became free, explicit, & (in some instances) ingenuous. Upon the return of their Committees, the Inhabitants of the several Towns assembled, and without a dissentient voice voted to supply us as far as they were able, and their laborers & teams were immediately employed in procuring Wood, &c. Their votes are N^o 7, 8. On the 10th I was informed that M^r Welsh, purser of the Restoration, being on shore on duty, was taken by a party of Rebels from Falmouth. As Welsh was a native of Boston, & a very obnoxious character (having been an active Revenue officer), I did not think it improbable that he might receive indignities ; but I was convinced, by an answer to a letter of M^r Leonard's from the Commanding-Officer at Falmouth, that the Rebels meant to adopt a different kind of policy with us, and that Welsh was favored with particular indulgencies.

I this day landed with Capt Murray's party, and was received by the Inhabitants with as much civility as could be expected. Such articles as we wanted for our immediate consumption were brought to us, and we paid for them in commodities useful to them. The scattering among them a few articles of British manufacture had not a bad effect ; it revived their old predilection, & produced comparisons between British & French commodities not favorable to the latter.

The 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th,

I spent in reconnoitring the ground in different parts of the island, attended by some of the principal Inhabitants, who began to give us new proofs of their hospitality & readiness to oblige us. They also made proposals to sell us their stock of cattle, poultry, &c., for which we engaged to pay them in Tea, sugar, coffee, &c. M^r Leonard appropriated a small vessel (the Fancy) to receive those articles, and in two days she was loaded with poultry.

15th

I received the following Information : " That the General Assembly of Massachusetts-Bay continue to assess the Inhabitants of Martha's

Vineyard, and that the Rate Bills for the present year are now in the hands of Benjamin Pease, jun^r, who is appointed collector of taxes." That since the 15th of Sept^r 1778 (the day of General Grey's stipulation with the Inhabitants), several persons have voluntarily entered on board armed vessels in the service of the rebels; have cruized, taken prizes from the King's subjects, & enjoyed their shares. It is also represented that some of the Inhabitants of Old-Town have since that period been very active in assisting the Rebels; one very recent instance is particularly related.

A Brigantine, loaded with sasifras & a small quantity of Indigo, bound from Pensacola to London, commanded by — Bell, was taken by a rebel privateer, & afterwards retaken by his Majesty's ship Galatea, & was ordered to proceed to Rhode-Island or New-York. In her passage by Old Town a number of the Inhabitants manned a Boat, boarded & took her, & carried her to the rebel port of Hyannas, where she now lies. These men are now on the island, & have receiv^d their proportion of her value. I am also informed that it is the practice of the pilots, since we arrived on this station, to go on board vessels appearing in the offing, & give intelligence of our strength & situation, & thereby prevent their falling into our hands. I immediately consulted M^r Leonard on these subjects, & we determined to take the most effectual method of punishing those individuals who had been guilty of a breach of articles agreed on between Gen^l Grey & them, and also to prevent as far as possible such trespasses in future. M^r Leonard accordingly wrote the masters of his vessels then lying at Old Town to take up all persons against whom positive proof cou^d be produced of their having transgressed in any of the before mentioned instances. He also ordered Captⁿ Baxter, of the Lesslie, to take into custody the Collector of Taxes, & to bring him & his Rate Bills to Holmes-Hole; and he issued a proclamation forbidding all pilots at their peril from pursuing a practice so detrimental to the service.

Those men who were concerned in the capture of Bell's Vessel instantly fled to the main; others who had been engaged in privateers surrend^{ed}, & by way of atonement entered into our service. The Collector & his Rate Bills were br^ot, & we have reason to apprehend that the order relative to the pilots answered the purpose intended. The Inhabitants were exceedingly gratify^d at the proceedings against the Collector, as, by taking possession of the Bills & imprisoning the officer, they were for the present prevented from paying an exorbitant tax. I also made a public declaration to them, that as the taxes were assessed for the express purpose of levying war against the King, it wou^d be considered as a most presumptuous Act in any person who shou^d pay any proportion for that purpose. They requested that they might be permitted to represent this matter to the General Assembly.

Willing to indulge them, we consented that Mr. Athearn should pass to Boston on that business. He communicated our threats, &c., and obtained a temporary exemption. This event not only satisfied the Inhabitants of the Island, but probably will produce consequences more extensive & mischievous to the Rebels. On Athearn's return he communicated to some of the principal men in the county of Barnstable the Indulgencies which he had obtained from the General Court. They warmly resented the partiality, and declared that as their situations on the peninsula of Cape Codd were equally exposed to our depredations, they would apply for the same privileges. This disposition I endeavored to cultivate by writing & repeated messages to the friends of government there, & I flatter myself they were attended with some success.

We had this day the pleasure of hearing that our vessels at Old Town had taken a prize from the West Indies laden with Sugar, Molasses, & Coffee.

On the 16th

I received the declarations of Boswell & Bradshaw relative to the sloop Nancymond. I refer you to N^o 9 & 10 and to N^o 11 for our proclamation; to N^o 12, 13, 14, 15, for all the subsequent transactions relative to Nantucket; and will only add that the Committee, after carefully attending to the proofs alledged in my letter, begged leave to withdraw their memorial & apologies, and desired to throw themselves on our mercy, and that we would make as favorable a Representation as circumstances would admit, altho' I acknowledge myself exceedingly affronted by their insinuations & deceitful conduct. I was disposed to avoid any severities, and I consented to make the best excuses possible for them. I yet thought it necessary (to guard against misrepresentations) that you should be possessed.

COLL: FANNING.

Thomas Aston Coffin¹ to Edward Winslow, Jr.

DEAR NED, — To comfort your heart, know ye that Lord Nelson, with 27 ships, has had an Action with the Combined Squadrons of 35 sail, & taken & destroyed 17. He, noble fellow, is numbered with the dead. He has fallen gloriously.

In haste, yours,

T. A. C.

ABINGDON STREET, N^o 27, Nov. 6, 1805.

¹ Thomas Aston Coffin (H. C. 1772), an officer in the English army. He is called by Sabine a baronet; but we can find no proof of the fact, and think he was confounded with his relative, Sir Isaac Coffin. He died in London in 1810. See Sabine's *Loyalists*, vol. i. p. 237. — Eds.

John Adams to James Sullivan.

QUINCY, August 2, 1796.

SIR, — I received last Evening the Letter you did me the Honour to write me the 30th of July, and am ready to give you all the Information in my Power.

Mitchel's Map was the only one which The Ministers Plenipotentiary of The United States and The Minister Plenipotentiary of Great Britain made use of in their Conferences and Discussions relative to The Boundaries of The United States in their Negotiation of The Peace of 1783 and of the Provisional Articles of the 30th of November, 1782. Upon that Map, and that only, were those Boundaries delineated; and The River marked on that Map with the Name of St. Croix was the River agreed upon as the Eastern Boundary of the State of Massachusetts and of The United States. It was not intended by either Party to give any new Boundary to the East Side of Massachusetts; but the real Eastern Boundary of The Province of Massachusetts Bay, according to The Charter of William and Mary, was intended to be the Eastern Boundary of The United States.

To the foregoing Facts I am ready to Attest in any manner that may be judged necessary; and if M^r Jay should transmit you an Affidavit, I shall be very willing to do the same. But I can scarcely think it necessary, because I cannot believe that any of these Facts will be denied or questioned.

The Decease of M^r Oswald is unfortunate, because I am well assured he would have avowed all these Facts with the utmost frankness and Candour. M^r Whiteford, The Secretary to his Commission, I am confident, will readily admit them all. M^r William Franklin, The Secretary to The American Commission, knows them. D^r Franklin, before his Death, transmitted to The then Secretary of State, M^r Jefferson, as I was informed by him, a full state of this affair according to his Recollection, — a Document which probably Col. Pickering has transmitted to you. If not, it may be usefull for you to obtain it from his office. Lord St. Helens, formerly M^r Fitzherbert, might or might not be informed by M^r Oswald at the time; if he was, I have confidence enough in his Lordships Honour and candour to believe that he will confirm all that I have said. Benjamin Vaughan, Esq^r, might or might not be informed; if he was, either by Mr. Oswald, M^r Whiteford, or any of The American Ministers, his Testimony cannot but corroborate the Account I have given.

Wishing you a pleasant Voyage and Safe Return, I have the Honour to be, Sir, your

most obedient JOHN ADAMS.

THE HONOURABLE JAMES SULLIVAN, Esq^r.

Deposition of James Boyd.

I, James Boyd, testify that in May, 1763, I went to *Passamaquoddy*-bay to settle, and there made from time to time a Journal, which I have now by me, and which is as follows:—

Passamaquada, May, 1763. — Arrived on an Island, called by the natives *Jeganagoose*, or Indian Island. After I built a Store I set out with a whale boat, & explored every Island in the bay; & when I met with any of the Natives, I got from them what name they were called by the Natives. Went up a river, after entering the grand bay by the harbour *Le Tete*, which the Natives named *Magegadewee*. Stopped at the carrying place. Returned to the bay, & viewed *Dictequash* river, then *Boquabeck* & *Chamcook*; in my way, *Connasquamkook*, now *Saint Andrews*. Left the last point, went up the bay, and found *Wachweig*. Crossed, & went up *Schooduck* on my return. Stop't at *Conasquamkook*, and there took on board of my whale boat a small piece of Ordnance, and arrived at *Jeganagoose*, &c., &c.

Went to an Island on the North East Side of the Bay, which Island had been settled a considerable time before by the subjects of France; a good point of the Island and the marks of a breastwork or entrenchment in the harbour at high water. This Island appears surrounded by Islands; at low water you can go from some of them to others. Went up to *Cobskook*; there found a small river. At my return the most of the natives had arrived at *Jeganagoose*. After conversing with them, & got the names of all the Islands & rivers in *Passamaquada*, the harbour *Le Tang* and harbour *Le Tete*, and found whenever the natives had buried they erected a cross, either on Islands or on the main land.

In 1764 John Mitchel, Esq., arrived in this place to survey *Passamaquada*. M^r Jones asked my leave to store his provisions, and that I would call the Indians together; that he had Governor Bernard's orders to assemble all of them. I did as he asked me. They met by my Store. I was present, and heard Jones' Commission read. The Interpreter spoke to the Indians, & interpreted the whole. Captain Jones desired the Interpreter to ask the Indians if they knew of a river by the name of *Saint Croix*. They answered, *Yes*. Would they shew it to the Surveyors? *Yes*. Where do you say it is? They answered, *near by harbour Le Tete*. They appointed a day, and I was appointed Interpreter. The day appointed came. Capt. Jones hired a whale-boat of me. We left *Jeganagoose*, and arrived at Harbour *Le-Tete*. Found *Bungawarrawit* (the Governor) ready, with the other Indians. We left this, and arrived at the river; and after the Interpreter asked the Indians *if this was the river known to them by the name of Saint Croix*, they said, *Yes*. He asked them if they knew the nature of an

Oath. They answered *Yes*; that they had sworn to serve the King of France, and should declare the Truth; as they did, and the Interpreter took their Oath's. It was reported there that at the time Colonel Church took the French which were settled in *Passamaquady*, he threw up two Breast-works, — one on Pleasant point, the other on *Conasquamkook*, — & then went & reduced Annapolis, on the North East Side of the Bay of Fundy. Some time before Quebec was taken from the French, Capt. Hector McNeal was taken prisoner in the harbour *Le Tang*. It was Indians which took him. One Frenchman, who married an Indian, was with the Indians. They gave Capt McNeal the names of sundry places. The Indians carried McNeal's vessell to *Conasquamkook*, and there unloaded a good deal of the Cargo. McNeal had some small guns & swivels. The Indians kept one gun to give an alarm when needed. The Indians then carried the Vessell to Saint Johns River, & carried their Captives up this river to Quebec.

All the facts above related I declare to be true.

Questions put to James Boyd, Esq., by the Agent for the United States.

1. Were there any white Inhabitants on the Shores or Islands of Passamaquada-bay when you went there in 1763?

Answer. None; only the Natives. The nearest white Inhabitants were at Saint Johns or Machias.

2. Were there any appearances of former habitations on the shores and Islands of said bay? What were the appearances, and where were they said to be made?

Answer. There were Indian bark huts, but no framed-house, or marks of any French or English house.

3. What people were then reported by the Indians and others to have lived there? How long had they been removed, and was it reported who had removed them?

Answer. There have been no Inhabitants on these Shores or Islands since the descent of Colonel Church, as I have been always told by the Indians.

4. Did John Currie go there with you, or when did he arrive there?

Answer. He did not go with me, but he came there in the year 1770.

5. Was there a civil jurisdiction exercised by the Government of Nova Scotia over the People there? When did it begin, and how far west did it extend?

Answer. The Jurisdiction began at Saint Johns River; but how far West it extended I am unable to say, any further than will appear from

a Commission which I received as a Justice of the Peace for the County of Sunbury & District adjoining Westward, & which, I believe, was the first civil Commission issued for that quarter of the Country, a Copy of which Commission is annexed.

6. What was the name of what is now called Saint Andrews point when you went there?

Answer. *Conasquamkook.*

7. Did you ever know Alexander Hodges, who he is; and when did he come to Passamaquady?

Answer. I knew him. He came first to Passamaquady as a servant to a certain m^r John Frost, of Machias, an Indian trader. He was very illiterate.

8. Did you ever know an Indian by the name of Lewis Neptune; and did you ever hear him swear or say which was the River Saint Croix?

Answer. I did. But to give a more full answer to this question it is necessary to state that I knew several Indians of the name of Lewis Neptune. This is a name which was very common among the Indians at Penobscot, Passamaquody, & Saint Johns; but the Lewis Neptune which I refer to was of the Passamaquody Tribe, and who was one of the persons appointed by his Father *Bungawarrawit*, or John Neptune (then Governor of that tribe), to go with Jones & Mitchel, and point out to them which he tho't the river called Saint Croix; and which the said Lewis Neptune did then and there, standing on a point of land on the North side of the Magaquadavie, in concurrence with two other Indians, declare the *Magaquadavie* to be the same River known among the Indians by the name of St Croix. And further to distinguish and identify the said Lewis Neptune, he was called by the Indians *Rack-sucees*, which means *A Man of great strength, or having the strength of a Bear.*

JAMES BOYD, J. P.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
SUFFOLK ss, August 10, 1798.

James Boyd, Esquire, personally appeared, and being duly cautioned & carefully examined, subscribed and made oath to the truth of the foregoing Deposition; the same being taken at the request of James Sullivan, Esquire, Agent for the United States, to be used before the Commissioners appointed to settle the Saint Croix boundary. Taken & sworn to before me,

GEORGE RICHARDS MINOT,
Justice of the Peace & Quorum.

Account of the Funeral of Edward Winslow at Halifax, N. S.¹

At $\frac{1}{2}$ past one O'clock the corpse moved from the dwelling house in the parade inclosed in a very elegant coffin with this inscription on a handsome brass plate:

EDWARD WINSLOW
Ob^d 8th June 1784
Æ 72 years.

It proceeded in the following order;

The Sexton,
Doctor Payne — Doctor M^cIntyre,
Physicians, in uniforms with Scarves, &c.
The Rev^d Doctor Breynton, Rev^d Mr. Weeks,
Clergyman, with Scarves &c.
The Body on a hearse covered with a Black Pall,
surported by
His Exc^y Governor Wentworth — His Honor Lieut Governor Fanning,
The Honorable Arthur Gould Esq. — Brig^r General John Small,
The Hon^{ble} Foster Hutchinson Esq. — Henry Lloyd Esq.
in full Mourning with Scarves Hatbands & Gloves,
Chief Mourner
Colonel Winslow,
followed by the family servants
in deep mourning.

In Mourning {	Sampson Salter Blowers, Esq.	}	with Scarves &c
	William Taylor, Esq.		
	His Excellency the Governor	}	with Scarves &c
	His Excellency the General,		
	Gregory Townsend Esq.		
	Lieutenant Hailes 38th Grenadiers.		
	William Coffin, Esq		
	Captain Morrice Robinson,		
	Mr Mather Byles		
	Captain Addenbrooke, Aid de Camp,		
Lieutenant Gordon, Major of Brigade			

The whole was followed by his majesty's Council, a number of the respectable inhabitants, & many Gentlemen of the Army & Navy.

¹ This account was copied by me from an early manuscript among some Winslow Papers. — C. D.

On entering the grand portico of Saint Paul, a solemn dirge was begun by Mr Selby the organist, and continued while the Body was carried to the upper part of the church, & the full service of the Church was afterwards performed by the Reverend Doctor Breynnton. The Funeral then proceeded to the Burying ground where the remaining prayers were read and the Body decently interred—A place is reserved for erecting a monument.

Inscription on Winslow's Monument.

Sacred to the memory

of EDWARD WINSLOW, ESQ.,

Who died the 9th of June 1784 in the 72 year of his age. Descended from a race of ancestors governors of the ancient Province of Plymouth, he in no instance degenerated from their Loyalty or virtue, but while he filled the first offices, became as conspicuous by public integrity as he was amiable, in the milder shades of private life. Although his fortune suffered shipreck in the storm of Civil War, and he forsook his native country from an attachment to his sovereign, neither his cheerful manners nor the calm reward of conscious rectitude forsook him in old age; he died as he lived, beloved by his friends and esteemed by his enemies.

Taken from a tomb stone in the Episcopal Church Yard in Halifax Nova Scotia.¹

Dr. CHANNING said that in a volume marked "Miscellaneous Papers," 1769–1793 (vol. v. p. 139), there is a paper, by an unknown hand, giving details of the emigration from the Southern States at the time of their evacuation in 1782. It appears from this that no less than 13,271 of the former inhabitants of those States, including 8,676 blacks, retired with the British. The paper further gives particulars as to the destinations of these people. Altogether it is of considerable interest to a student of our Revolutionary history, although its truthfulness cannot be established. A portion has been printed by Mayor Courtenay in his "Charleston Year-Book for 1883;" but unfortunately he has given the figures relating only to Charleston, and has not given those correctly.

¹ This was copied by me from a sheet of manuscript among some Winslow Papers, May 26, 1886. — C. D.

RETURN OF PEOPLE EMBARKED FROM SOUTH CAROLINA AND GEORGIA.
CHARLESTOWN, 13th DECEM^r 1782.

From whence Embarked	To what place.	Whites.			Blacks.	Total.
		Men.	Women.	Child ^r		
Charlestown	Jamaica	600	300	373	2613	3891
	East Florida	630	306	337	1653	2926
	D ^o	166	57	119	558	900
	England	137	74	63	50	324
	Halifax	163	133	121	53	470
	N. York	100	40	50	50	240
Georgia	S ^t Lucia	20	350	370
	Jamaica	50	1600	1650
	E. Florida	326	189	236	1749	2500
		2192	1099	1304	8676	13271

On a preceding page of the same volume there is a list of troops which embarked at the same time. It is interesting as giving particulars otherwise inaccessible.

12th Dec^r 1782.

FIRST EMBARKATION OF HIS MAJESTY'S TROOPS FROM CHARLESTOWN ON
FRIDAY AT ONE O'CLOCK THE AFTERNOON.

Regiments or Corps.	Number.		Where to embark from.
	Officers.	Non Comm ^d Off ^r Drum ^s Privates & Servants.	
Royal Artillery	6	75	Eveleighs Wharf. Fish Market ditto. Beef Market ditto.
Regiment de Dittfourth	21	478	
Ditto . . . de Benning	22	432	
Ditto . . . de Angelleli	19	524	
& Detachment de Bose			
Total	68	1509	

SECOND EMBARKATION AT THREE O'CLOCK THE AFTERNOON.

New York Volunteers &	} 45	406	Eveleighs Wharf.	
Prince of Wales's Am ⁿ Regim ^t .				
Kings Am ⁿ Regiment	} 37	417		
& 2 ^d Batt ⁿ B ^t Gen ^l Skinners . .				
1 st Batt ⁿ De Lanceys	24	226		Beef Market ditto.
Total	106	1049		
Total to embark this day . .	174	2558		

FIRST EMBARKATION ON SATURDAY MORNING AT SEVEN O'CLOCK.

60 th 3 ^d & 4 th Battalions	25	431	} Roses Wharf.
General Stewarts command in Town (except the 63 ^d Regiment)	50	391	
Total	75	822	

SECOND EMBARKATION AT NINE O'CLOCK THE FORENOON, CONSISTING OF
THE REAR GUARD.

Detachment of Artillery	3	45	} Gadsons Wharf
Jaders	2	70	
Detachmt 60 th 3 ^d & 4 th Batt ^{ns} . .	6	160	
63 ^d Regiment	19	193	
Total	30	468	
Total to Embark this day . .	105	1290	
Total Embarkation	279	3848	

	Officers.	Men.
N. B. The Buffs to embark from Fort Arbuthnot consisting of	} 24	296
The detachments of the 17 th 23 ^d 33 ^d thirteen Jaders & a detachment of one Captain two Subalterns Six Non Commissioned Officers & Sixty Men from different Corps in the Garrison at Fort Johnston, Making in all		
Total	44	630

JN^o STAPLETONA: D: A: G^l

Mr. WINSOR spoke of collections of historical papers relating to the Revolution, many of which are in private hands.

Mr. T. C. AMORY remarked that it was his purpose that the papers of General Sullivan should be deposited in New Hampshire, but that copies of them should be placed here.

The Treasurer announced that during the vacation he had paid the balance of the mortgage note given at the time of the reconstruction of the Society's building, and that the mortgage had been discharged on the record in the Registry of Deeds. He moved that the income of the Massachusetts

Historical Trust Fund for the year ending September 1, be appropriated for the printing of a new volume of Trumbull Papers.

Mr. JENKS presented a copy of the Catalogue of the Boston Public Latin School, established in 1635. This volume comprises more than five hundred pages, and includes an elaborate history of the school from the pen of Mr. Jenks.

A new serial of the Proceedings, with a new volume, was laid on the table by the Recording Secretary.

The Treasurer communicated, from Dr. Peabody, a memoir of the Hon. John Welles.

MEMOIR
OF
HON. JOHN WELLES.

BY ANDREW P. PEABODY.

JOHN WELLES, a descendant in the fifth generation from Thomas Welles, one of the early governors of Connecticut, and the son of Arnold Welles, a distinguished merchant and for several years President of the Boston Branch of the Bank of the United States, was born in Boston on the 14th of October, 1764. His name appears in the catalogue of the Boston Latin School in 1771. He subsequently became a pupil of Rev. Dr. Shute, of Hingham, from his tuition entered Harvard College in 1778, and graduated in 1782. On leaving college he went into business with his father, and remained till an advanced age in active, honorable, and remunerative business as a merchant, with successive partners of his own name and kindred. In 1794 he married his cousin, Abigail Welles, daughter of Samuel Welles. In 1802 he formed a partnership with his cousin and brother-in-law, Samuel Welles. They conducted an extensive European commerce, as ship-owners and importers, with success commensurate with their skill and enterprise, the only drawback being loss by French spoliations, for which, under the provision by which the United States Government assumed the responsibility of such as occurred before 1800, Mr. John Welles was the last survivor but one of the original claimants.

Mr. Samuel Welles in 1815 became a resident of Paris, with the purpose of attending to the European business of the firm, and at an early period afterward opened the first American banking-house in Paris,—his cousin being in this undertaking, as in commercial transactions, his partner, and acting as the American representative of the firm. Mr. John

Welles never lived in Paris, and was, it is believed, in Europe but once, and that was to attend the marriage of his daughter to Mr. H. Hollis Hunnewell, then connected with the Paris house.

Mr. Welles held various public offices of trust and honor at a time when it was the custom, in Massachusetts at least, rather to force office on the best men who did not want it than to confer it on those who wanted it. He was at different times a member of the House of Representatives, the Senate, and the Executive Council of the State, a member of the first City Council of Boston, and its President for the following year. He was a loyal member of the Federalist party, possessing the distinguishing traits that contributed equally to its dissolution and to its enduring honor; and though he survived its existence, he did not outlive the opinions, associations, and sympathies which still endeared its memory.

Mr. Welles was largely and beneficently known for his interest in agriculture, and for his judicious and persistent endeavors to promote improvements of every description in that department of industry. He had a large farm in Dorchester, where he found or made leisure for many useful experiments in improved methods of cultivation. He subsequently came into possession of a large farm in West Needham, which had belonged to the Welles family for several generations and became his wife's property on the decease of her father. This was a sandy, treeless region when he first took up his residence in it; but it was made, under his direction, verdant, beautiful, and richly productive. He was among the first to introduce improved breeds of cattle, and to make known the superior qualities of the Durham stock. He was one of the founders and an active member of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society, and was associated with Hon. John Lowell in editing what was probably the earliest agricultural journal in the State. He visited farms, conferred with farmers, gave them valuable information, and lent money freely to them in their stress of need. His farm, now belonging to Mr. Hunnewell, is in the portion of Needham that was incorporated as a separate town under the name of Wellesley,—a name designed to perpetuate the grateful remembrance in which he is still held on the spot, for his personal worth and his valuable services. The splendid public

library built and endowed by Mr. Hunnewell and the beautiful town-hall given to the town by him are regarded by him as memorials of the Welles family, and especially of his father-in-law, whom he succeeds as a munificent benefactor of the community which is so happy as to claim him for a citizen.

Mr. Welles belonged to a generation of which he was nearly the last, and there are few now living who remember him in his prime. It is but very imperfectly that we can describe his life-work. But he bore no small part in the record of integrity, philanthropy, faithful public service, and civic virtue which has done far more for the honor of Boston merchants than their wise thrift or their well-aimed enterprise. He died in Boston on the 26th of September, 1855. His had, in two successive Triennial Catalogues of Harvard College, been the oldest name unstarred, and for ten years he had been the only survivor of his own class.

NOVEMBER MEETING, 1886.

THE monthly meeting was held on the 11th instant, at three P. M., Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS presiding.

The record of the last meeting was read by the Secretary.

The donations to the Library during the past month were reported by the Librarian, who also announced, in the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, that letters accepting membership had been received from Professor Goodwin, the Dean of Ely, and the Hon. W. A. Courtenay.

The PRESIDENT then made the following remarks : —

Among all the societies and institutions in this community and in our whole country, whose interest, sympathy, and pride were engaged in the commemoration of the Two hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the founding of Harvard College, this Society took no second place in welcoming and in sharing through its members the delightful observances of the occasion. Three fourths of our associates here have graduated in its classes. Others have received from it professional or honorary degrees. This Society loaned to the College for the occasion the President of the University, the Orator and Poet, the President of the Association of the Alumni, the Chief Marshal, and many of his aids ; and among the speakers at the banquet our Emeritus President, — a living link in name and honors with the venerated founder of our Commonwealth, and the fosterer and patron of all that was best in its growth and institutions — invested with the charms of his own eloquence the rehearsal of the old themes kept fresh by the love and gratitude of a loyal heart.

On no other occasion and in no other place through our whole land could such a company have been gathered, and such observances have been held, as gave to the commemoration at Cambridge such felicity, dignity, and completeness in all its elements and incidents. Most fitting it was that the honored Chief Magistrate of the nation should have come to see and hear and share in the grateful and elevating influences

of the occasion. The representatives of foreign universities, in scholarship, learning, and character, and of the oldest and youngest of our own like institutions, crowded upon the platform, and, carrying away with them the honorary parchments which enroll them as alumni of Harvard, will cherish the memory of an occasion which has interlaced with loving bands the citizens of the wide-spread commonwealth of letters, arts, and sciences.

The Hon. George F. Hoar, of Worcester, was elected a Resident Member of the Society; and Professor Alexander Johnston, of the College of New Jersey, was chosen a Corresponding Member.

At the meeting of the Society, April 15, 1886, Judge CHAMBERLAIN, in describing the Journal of Captain Henry Dearborn in Arnold's Quebec Expeditions in 1775-1776, referred to three other of Dearborn's journals in the Boston Public Library. The first of these journals, from July 25, 1776, to Dec. 4, 1777, consisting of eight folio pages, is attached to the Quebec Journal, and bound up with it. The second, from Dec. 5, 1777, to June 16, 1778, is in a quarto volume of one hundred and forty-four pages, the first five of which are copies of Congressional Resolves relating to the Army, and the last seventy pages consisting of accounts, receipts, and songs. The third portion, from June 20, 1782, to March 1, 1783, is an oblong quarto volume of forty-seven pages, the last twenty-seven being miscellaneous matters. These have now been brought together. They are printed with strict adherence to the form, spelling, and punctuation of the originals. Their history, so far as is known, is given in a foot-note to the Quebec Journal.

Journal of Henry Dearborn, from July 25, 1776, to December 4, 1777.

1776. July 25 I set out for New York where our main army then lay to settle my accounts — I remained at N York until the enemy took possession of Long Island, & our army was about quitting the City, & then returned home:

Decem^r 30th I set out for Philadelphia to settle some accounts with congress, I was obliged to go to Baltimore in Maryland, Congress having retreated from Philadelphia to that place. — I stayd there 10 days & returnd home.

24th of March I was Exchanged & appointed Maj^r to the third N. H. Reg^t Commanded by Col^l Scammell.

10th of May I set out for, & the 20th arriv'd at Ticonderoga — the first of July Gen^l Burguoyne came against Ticonderoga with a Large fleet & Army, & began to erect batteries against several parts of our works, the 5th a council of war was held in which it was determin'd to Evacuate the post next morning before day brake, early on the morning of the 6th we left the place, the Enemies pursued us by land & water, destroy'd all our baggage that was sent to Skeensborough by water. — a large body of Light troops pursued by land, & early on the morning of 7th fell in with our rear guard & after an action of half an hour, in which they met with considerable loss our troops were obliged to retreat — our Loss was about 300 kill'd & taken — our main body was at two great a distance from the rear guard to go to their relief in season — our main Army now found themselves obliged to perform a Circuitous march of about 150 miles thro what is call'd the Green Mountains to Saratoga, almost totally destitute of any kind of provisions or any other necessaries of life: — that part of our army that went by water, by the way of Skeensborough with the baggage, after loosing the baggage were pursued by a body of the Enemy to fort Ann where two or three severe scurmishes happnd, in which the Enemy went of second best, in one of these scurmishes the brave Cap^t Weare of the third N. H. Reg^t received a wound of which he afterwards died.

the 12 of July our main body arriv'd at Hudson river opposite Saratoga, were there reforc'd by several Reg^{ts} of Continental troops & a considerable body of Militia, some part of our army march'd up the river as far as fort Edward, after remaining there several days finding the Enemy were advancing, our whole force was Collected at a place called Moses creek about five miles below fort Edward, where we remain'd a number of days & then retreated to Saratoga, had several scurmishes with the Enemies advanc'd parties, consisting mostly of Indians & their more savage brothers the Tories after remaining two days at Saratoga we retreated to Stillwater where we arriv'd the 3^d of August.

August 3^d 1777 this morning our army arriv'd at Stillwater & incamp'd.

4th we are Beginning to Erect some fortifications to Day.

5th I am on the advanced Piquet to Day.

6th it is in Gen^l Orders for a Company of Light Infantry to be form'd from Each Continental Regiment, Immediately.

7th Nothing New to Day.

8th an Indian Scalp was Brought in to Day By a Party of our men which is a Rarety with us — Gen^l Arnold march'd this Day with Gen^l Larners Brigade for fort Stanwix which has Been Beseiged some time By a Party British Troops & their Brothers the Savages under Command of Gen^l S^t Ledger.

9th Nothing New.

10th from the appearances of thing we are about to Retreat further Down the River.

11th D^o.

12th D^o.

13th the Army is ordered to march to morrow morning at 4 O Clock, the Tents to Be struck at 2 — this Evining the Above order was Countermanded.

14th the army is ordered to march to morrow morning at gun fire to-morrow morning.

15th we march.d this morning about 6 miles to a Place Call.d fort Abraham & incamp.d & Drew Tents for the Newhamps^e Battallions which are the first we have had since we Left Ty.

16th we Lay still to Day.

17th we are Ordered to march to morrow morning.

18th the army marchd this morning, — Genl^r Poors Brigade march.d up mohawke River about 7 miles & Cross.d it at a Place Call.d Lowdens ferry & incamp.d. the other Part of the army incamp.d at what is Call.d the sprouts, which is the Place where Mohawk River Emities into Hudson River in three Different Branches this Place is about 9 miles from Albany.

19th Genl^r Gates takes Command of the Northern army this Day which I think will Put a New face upon our affairs.

20th we have the Glorious News this Day of the signal victory that Genl^r Stark has Obtain'd over the Enemy at Benington Where he has kill.d & taken about 1200 men — Beside a Large Quantity of Baggage & 4 Brass field Peices.

21st I went to Albany this Day to take Care of the Effects of the Brave Cap^t Weare who Died a few Days since of the wound he Receivd in the action at fort ann the 8th of July.

22^d I returned to Camp from Albany this Day — this after-noon we are Join.d By 2 N. York Regiments. Van Courtlandts & Livingstanes.

23^d the two Regiments that Joind us yesterday are ordered to march to fort Stanwix to Join Genl^r Arnold.

24th Nothing New to Day.

25 this Day we are Informed that the Enemy made an attempt to storm fort Stanwix But were Repuls.d with Considerable Loss in Consequence of which they Immediately Raised the seage.

the 26th 27th 28th Nothing New.

29th the two N. York Regiments above mentioned Returnd this Day & Join.d our Brigade.

30th Col^o Morgan from Virginia with 400 Riflemen Join.d us to day.

31st Genl^r Arnold with Genl^r Larnards Brigade Returnd from fort Stanwix & Joind us this Day.

Septem' 1st 2^d 3^d Nothing New.

4th a Scout of 40 men under Command of Cap^t fry of Col^o Scammels Regi^t was surpris'd By a Body of Indians & others Consisting in the whole of about 300 — we Lost out our scout 9 men kild & taken.

5th we are making all Possible Preparation to meet the Enimy our Brigad is mustered to Day By Col^o Varrick.

6th we are Ordered to hold our selves in Rediness to march at a munites warning to meet the Enimy — we are Joind By a Conciderable Body of Millitia from Connecticut, Both foot & horse.

7th we Expect Every hour to have orders for marching — this Evin- ing we Receivd orders to strike our Tents at gun fire to morrow morn- ing & march towards the Enimy.

8th we Cross.d the River & march.d about 8 miles to Day & In- camp.d.

9th we march.d about 10 miles this morning to Stillwater & Incamp.d on the Hights — a flag Came to Gen^l Gates to Day from Gen^l Bur- guoyn with a Doct^r & some Baggage & Nessasaries for their sick & wounded taken at Benington.

10 we are Begining to fortify on the hights.

11th the army is as yesterday, I am appointed to the Command of 300 Light Infantry who are Draughted from the several Regements in the Northern army & to act in Conjunction with Col^o Morgan's Corps of Riflemen.

12th I Join.d the Light Infantry this morning which with the Rifle- men are incamp.d about 2 miles advanc.d of the Main army.

13th this morning the whole army advanc.d about 4 miles to a Place Call.d Beemes.s Hights a very advantageous Post & incamp.d.

14th L^t Col^o Butler of the Riflemen & myself with 200 men went out as a scout Near to Saratoga to Indevour to find out the situation of the Enimy But Being misled By Our guide we made No great Discoveries, & tarried all Night.

15th After Reconoyrtering the woods Round Saratoga we Returnd to Camp.

16th from some Intillegence we Receivd Last Night we Expected to have been Attacted this morning, But were Disappointed — Gen^l Stark Joind us to Day with his Brigade from Benington.

17th the Enimy are advancing towards us.

18th we march.d with 3000 men to attact the Enimy — we fell in with some small Parties & took about 30 Prison^{rs}.

19th hereing this morning that the Enimy ware advancing the Rife & Light Infantry Corps turnd out to meet the Enimy & about 2 miles from our Camp we fell in with their advanced guard & attacted them about 12 O Clock, after fighting about half an hour Being over Powerd with Numbers we were Obliged to Retire to A height, about 50 rods

& there were Reinfore'd With Col^o Cilleys Regiment. who attacted a Body of the Enemy with a great Deal of Spirit, I Ran to his assistance with the Light Infantry, But he was Obliged to Retreat Before I Came up. — Col^o Scammells & Hales Regiments then Came to our Assistence it was Now about 2 O Clock P. M. when a very Heavy fire Commenced on both Sides, which Continued until Dark. the Enemy Brought almost their whole force against us, together with 8 Peices of Artillery. But we who had something more at Stake than fighting for six Pence Pr Day kept our ground til Night, Closed the scene, & then Both Parties Retired. our Loss was about 180 kill.d 250 wounded & 20 taken Prisoners. among the Dead was the Brave L^t Col^o's Colborn & Adams & Cap^t Bell L^t Thomas all of Newhampshire, the Loss of those Brave men are very greatly Lamented in the Army, But as it was a Debt that they & Every one owe their Country I Beleave they Paid it with Cherefullness. — the Loss the Enemy Sustained this Day from Best Accounts, was about 300 kill.d & 500 wounded & about 20 Prisoners. on this Day has Been fought one of the Greatest Battles that Ever was fought in Amarica, & I Trust we have Convinced the British Butchers that the Cowardly yankees Can & when their is a Call for it, will, fight.

20th We Expect a General Battle this Day, — but No fighting, to Day.

21st the Enemy have Retired about 1 mile from the field of Battle & are fortifying, our army are also fortifying.

22^d we hourly Expect a General Battle.

23^d about 100 Onyda Indians who Joind us the Next Day after the Battle, have Brought in more or Less Prisoners Every Day.

24th A Conconsiderable Body of Millitia have Joind us to Day from Different Parts.

25th we supprid a Small Piquit of the Enimies.

26th we took 18 Prisoners this Day.

27th Nothing New to Day.

28th Several Desertera Came in from the Enemy.

29th 10 Desertera Came in.

30th 7 Prisoners Ware Brought in this morning. — Our Camp was Allarmd this morning By hearing that the Enemy were Coming out in three Collums to attact us, our army in general seem anxious for an other Battle. — No fighting to Day — our army has Been Reinforced since the Battle of the 19th Ins^t with at Least 3000 Millitia who appear in high spirits.

Octob^r 1st 1777 this month Begins with Pleasant weather & a fine Prospect Before us, & if M^r Burguoyne & his army are Not subdued this month, it will be for want of spirit in us, or for the want of that Divine Assistance which has Not fauld us heretofore.

2^d we took about 40 Prisoners, we had also a Body of Militia Joind in.

3^d we took several Prisoners.

4th several Deserters Came to us.

5 we took a Number of Prisoners.

6 I went out a scout with Col^l Morgan & 800 men. we went in the Rear of the Enemy took 7 Prisoners & as we Returnd, Night Coming on, together with a heavy Rain, we got Bewildered in the woods & Stayd all Night.

7th we Came in this morning from our scout & By the Time we had Refreshd our selves, which was about 12 O Clock we found a Body of the Enemy were Advancing towards our Lines, the Rifle men & Light Infantry were sent Immediately Round upon their Right flank. Some other Regiments were sent out to meet them. a scattering fire Commenced of Both Cannon & musketry, & about 3 O Clock Scammells Cilleys & Hales Rigements formed a line & at about $\frac{1}{2}$ after 3 O Clock the Battle Began Between the 3 Last mentioned Regime^{nts} & the Enimys main Body—we with the Rifle men & Light Infantry fell on upon the Enimys Right flank & Partly in their Rear, which soon Obliged them to Quit their heavy Artillery & a Considerable Number of waggons with Amonition & other stores & at the same time finding us in their Rear, their main Body Gave way, Leaving several other Peices of Cannon. they then all Retreeted with great Precepitation & Confusion, we followed them about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile in which they attempted several times to make a stand But Could Not until they got within their out Lines, in this time we were Reinford By several Regiments, Immediately after the Enemy got into their out works we attackd & Carried them, found their Tents standing & several Peices of Artillery in their Lines, & several field officers & a Number of officers & soldiers, the Enemy Retired Down Near the River into their strongest works:— we took to Day Sir Frances Clark wounded, Adedecamp to Genr^l Burguoyne. Maj^r Aclan of the granedeers, Maj^r Williams of the artillery. & several Hushen field Officers & several other officers of Different Rank. & about 240 Rank & file. their Loss in killd was very Considerable, among which was Genr^l Fraser. Our Loss was very inconsiderable Except that of Genr^l Arnolds Receiveing a wound in his Leg in forceing the Enemies Lines. we Remaind all Night in their Lines, we took 8 Peices of Brass Cannon to Day in the whole 2 of which were Double fortifyd 12 Pounds.

8th this morning the Rifle men & Light Infantry & several other Rigements marchd in the Rear of the Enemy Expecting they were Retreating But found they were Not. there has Been scurmishing all Day in which Genr^l Lincoln got wounded in the Leg. a Large Number of the Enemy Deserted to us to Day.

9th this morning we found the Enemy had Evacuated the whole of their Lines & had Left about 500 sick & wounded on the ground & a Considerable Quantity of Provisions. the Rifle men & Light Infantry were sent Immediately to take Possession of their works we march.d about one mile above their Lines & a heavy Rain Coming on we stay.d all Night. the Enemy March.d about 4 miles & Incampd Near Saratoga, where they found Genl^l Fellows with a body of Militia in their front.

10th there is some Cannonadeing at Saratoga this morning Between M^r Burguoyne & Genl^l Fellows. our army march.d this morning for Saratoga where we found the Enemy in great Confusion. they had Left Large Quantity of Baggage scattered along the Road & 1 Brass 12 Pounder which they Had Buried in the ground.— But was found A heavy Cannonadeing was kept up all Day — & a scattering fire of musketry.

11th this morning at Day Break the Rifle men & Light Infantry, march.d over fish Creek, & fell in with the Enimys guards in a thick fog, who kill.d 1 L^t of ours & 2 men, we then found our selves Close to the Enemy works where their whole Army Lay & we about 400 strong, the Enemy on one side & a River which we had Cross.d on scattering Logs on the other side, we Remain.d in this situation about 2 hours Before we were Reinforc.d, we Ware then Reinforced with Genl^l Larnards Brigade, the Enemy Began a Brisk Canonade upon us kill.d several men But we held the ground & Began to heave up up some works, we took a Number of Prisoners to Day — this afternoon Genl^l Poors & Pattersons Brigade Came over fish Creek with some field Peices & Joind us.

12th Matters stand much as they Did yesterday. about 20 Deserters Came in to Day, — the Rifle men & Light Infantry took Post in the Rear of the Enemy & incamp.d.

13th the Light Troops moovd to the main River in the Rear of the Enemy. Left some small Parties to watch the Roads & paths while the Remainder of Light Troops Reconoyrtered the Enimys Camp. we took 15 Prisoners and went to what is Call.d Jones.s mill, & Eat. Breakfast, & then moovd Down Near Genl^l Poors Brigade who Lay on the Enimys Right wing & Partly in their rear & incamp.d. A heavy Cannonade is kept up on Both sides [to] Day & a scattering fire of musketry.

14th at 10 O Clock to Day a flag Came from Genl^l Burguoyne with some Proposals of Caputilation in Consiquence of which a ssession of armes was agree.d on until sun set in which Time several flags Pass.d Between Genl^l Gates & Burguoyne.

15th in Consiquence of the flags yesterday, a Sessation of Armes is agreed on to Day.

16th there is a Capitulation agreed on.

17th this Day the Great M^r Burguoyne with his whole Army Surrendered themselves as Prisoners of war with all their Publick Stores, & after Grounding their armes march.d of for New England, the greatest Conquest Ever known.

the following is a True account of Britons Loss in the Northern Department in america this year at huberton, fort Ann Benington, fort Stanwix, Still water & Saratoga &c &c &c in kill.d wounded & taken in the whole 10250 men & 47 Peices of Brass Artillery Besides a vast Quantity of Stores Baggag &c.

18th the whole Army are Ordered to march Down the River towards Albany to Day, & haveing Intiligence on the Rode that Gen^r Clinton was Indeavouring to git up to Albany & Burn it as he has Assopus & other Places, we were ordered to march to Albany to Night which is 38 miles where we arivd at 10 O Clock At Night but Did Not see M^r Clinton.

19th we incamp.d on the hights about Albany to Day.

20th Nothing Extraordinary to Day.

21st 22^d 23^d there is some Cloathing Drawing for the men.

24th Col^o Morgan march.d this Day with the Rifle men for the Southward & Gen^r Poors Brigade Cross.d the River & march.d Down toward fish kill.

25 & 26 I Lay at Albany with the Light Infantry Nothing Extraordinary happened Except that of my gitting some Cloaths.

27th this Day a very heavy Rain Came on which continued until the 29th. it is said so heavy a Rain was Never known here Before.

30th this Day I march.d with the Light Infantry Down the River 12 miles to a Place Call.d Quemens & incamp.d.

31st this Day Gen^r Glovers, & Gen^r Pattersons Brigades march.d Down & incamp.d at Quemens.

Novem^r 1st I have fine weather, good Quarters & good Liveing which is something New to me.

2^d as yesterday.

3 D^o.

4 D^o.

5 D^o.

6 D^o.

7 I went to albany to Day to see Gen^r Gates, the Light Infantry under my Command are Dismisd this Day & I set sail for fish kill.

8th on my way to fish kill.

9th D^o.

10th arivd at fish kill & Joind my Regiment.

11th we are Preparing to march for Philadelphia.

12 as yesterday.

- 13 we march.d to Pecks kill.
- 14 we Crossd kings ferry & incamp'd.
- 15 march.d to Suffinene 18 miles & incampd.
- 16th march.d 18 miles & incampd.
- 17th marchd to Morristown.
- 18th march.d 12 miles.
- 19th march.d 16 miles.
- 20th Cross.d the River Dilaware.
- 21 march.d 14 miles.
- 22 we Joind the main army at white marsh.
- 23^d Nothing New.
- 24 Nothing Extrordinary.
- 25 D^o.
- 26 D^o.
- 27 D^o.
- 28 D^o.
- 29 D^o.
- 30 D^o.
- Decem^r 1 we have very Poor Living.
- 2^d Nothing New.
- 3^d D^o.
- 4 D^o.

[Some words and parts of sentences have lines drawn through them, and these have been omitted. Here the journal as kept in folio ends. What follows is in another volume in quarto.]

Journal of Henry Dearborn, from December 5, 1777, to June 16, 1778.

Decem^r 5th 1777 this morning we ware allarm.d at 4 O'clock by hearing that the Enemy ware advancing, in consequence of which the whole army Turnd out, & form.d the Lines of battle, & sent the baggage of the army back out of Camp. — at 9 O'clock some scurmishing hapened at Chesnut Hill 3 miles from our front between the Enemy's advanc.d Party & a Party of Militia in which we Lost Gen^l Arving who was taken Prisoner — the Enemy advanc.d no further we Remaind all Day on our Posts. at Evining we shifted our ground a Little & Incamp.d.

6th we Lay all Day Looeking at one or the other.

7th we form.d our Lines at 6 O'clock & at 7 the allarm guns ware fired by finding that the Enemy ware advancing very Rapedly upon our Left wing, but at 8 O'clock several deserters came in who inform.d us that the Enemy were Retreating towards Germantown — this after noon we found that the Retreat which we heard the Enemy ware making this

morning was in fact Shifting their ground from our Right wing to our Left & advanc.d within $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile of our front Line in Consequence of which some scurmish hapened, when our Rifle men gave a Party of them a severe Drubing — we hourly Expect a General Ingagement. — Near Night I was ordered out with our Regiment to attack the Enimys Cavalry, but found them so strongly Posted that I Could Not attack them without too great a Resk — the whole army Lay to Night upon their arms. Expecting that they would attack us in the Night with fix.d bayonets.

8th the Two armies Lay this morning as yesterday this after noon the Enimy began to Retreet we at first supposed they ware only indeav-ouring to Draw us off of our ground. but at dark we found they had Retreeted into Philadelphia. — which must Convince the world that Mr How Did not Dare to fight us unless he Could have the advantage of the ground.

9th we are all Quiet to Day & our Tents are Ordered into Camp.

10th as yesterday.

11th This morning at 4 O Clock the whole army ware Ordered to Strike Tents & Parade Redy to march when Ordered — at 6 O Clock We march.d & at 9 we began to cross the Schuylkill on a Bridg about 14 miles from Philadelphia, & when Genr! Wain.s Division had Cross.d we found the Enimy had got Possession of the heights Near the bridg & ware so strongly Posted that it was Thought best for Genr! Wain to Retreet back over the bridg. the whole Army form.d in Lines of Battle & Remaind so untill Near Night & then march.d about five miles up the River to a Place Calld Sweeds ford. & incamp.d.

12 this founnoon we built a bridg with waggons across the Schuylkill for the army to Cross on but Near Night finding the Enimy had moov.d from the Ground they had Lately Occupied the whole army march.d Down to the bridg which we began to Cross yesterday & Cross.d over & tooek Possession of some Heights & incamp.d — 11 hessians ware taken to Day.

13th we Lay still to Day — the Enimy have Retreeted into Philadelphia.

14 this founnoon we are all Quiet — this after Noon a Party of the Enemys Light Horse & some Light Troops Came within 3 or 4 miles of us & Carried off some Liquers from a Tavern.

15 we have fine weather for the season.

16th the weather is Cold & wet which renders our Living in Tents very uncomfortable — 11 Prisoners ware Brought in to Day.

17th the weather Remains very uncomfortable — our General Officers are Consulting what winter Quarters we are to have which I fear will be very Poor.

18th the weather still Remains uncomfortable — this is Thanksgiving Day thro the whole Continent of America — but god knows We have very Little to keep it with this being the third Day we have been without flouer or bread — & are Living on a high uncultivated hill, in huts & tents Laying on the Cold Ground, upon the whole I think all we have to be thankful for is that we are alive & not in the Grave with many of our friends — we had for thanksgiving breakfast some Exceeding Poor beef which has been boild & Now warm.d in an old short handled frying Pan in which we ware Obliged to Eat it haveing No other Platter — I Dined & sup.d at Gen^r Sulivans to Day & so Ended thanksgiving.

19 the army marched about 5 mile & incamp.d Near a height where we are to build huts to Live in this winter.

20th we are making Preparation for huting.

21st as yesterday.

22^d Nothing New.

23^d we have began to build huts.

24 a Party of our Light hors & some Rifle men tooek 10 of the Enimies Light hors men & 13 horses to Day.

25th we have Not so mery a Crismus as I have seen — the weather warm & Rayny.

26 the whole army are very busy in building huts.

27 as yesterday.

28th snowey Last night & to Day.

29th the weather is very Cold & we have not Done building Huts yet.

30th I think the weather is as Cold here as it is in New England.

31st Nothing Extreordinery to Day: we are still Living in Tents, Coverd with snow. this year 1777 has not Closed without something very Extreordinery, s Turning up — having Obtained Leave from Gen^r Washington I intend to set out for home Next Sunday. God Grant me a happy sight of my friends.

January 1st 1778 this year begins with Pleasent Weather. may it Prove Ominus of a Happy year for America.

2^d the weather Remains Pleasent. our Brigade is Mustered to Day.

3^d I Receivd my Commission this Day as Lt. Col^o to Col^o Scammell.

4th I set out for home the weather very moderate.

5th the Traviling is Exceeding bad.

6th 7th 8th 9th the weather & Traviling Remains as it was.

10 I am at Danbury — about 6 inches of snow fell to Day.

11th the Traviling is better, the weather cold.

12th I Bought a Slay to-Day & have very good Traviling.

13th 14th 15th 16th 17th have fine slaying.

18th at 2 O Clock P. M. I arivd safe home, & found all well.

April 22^d 1778 set out for Camp & arriv'd there the 12 Day of May at valey Forge.

15th I am P^t of a Brigade Coart Marc^l for the Tryal of Cap^t Clays he was aquited with Honour.

16 I am Field Officer of the Day.

17th I Dined at Genr^l Washingtons.

18 Nothing New.

19 a Detachment of 2000 men march'd out to Day Commanded by Marques Le fiete this day we are assured of Receiving 7 years Half Pay.

20th this morning at 8 o Clock we ware alarmd & the whole army Turnd out — in Consequence of hearing that the Detachment that marchd yesterday are surrounded by 7000 brittish Troops & no other way for them to Escape but by fording the Schuylkill which was Perform'd in sight of the Enimy. the army Lay under armes until night When finding that the Enimy after a small scurmish with a Party of our Anydo Indions Retired into Philadelphia it was a very Luckey affair on our side, that we Did not Loose our whole Detachment, our only Loss was 6 of my frenchmen.

21^t Nothing very Extreordinery Except that Genr^l Lee & Genr^l Arnold have both arivd in Camp to the Great joy of the army.

22^d the Marquis with his Detatchm^t Returnd to Camp this afternoon.

23^d Nothing New to Day.

24th we here from Philadelphia to Day that a Frigate arivd there yesterday in 21 Days from Britan which brings News of a battle fought at sea between the French & English in which the English Came of second best in Loosing two 60 gun ships; — & that the Troops are ordered to hold them selves Redy to Imbark at a munites warning.

25th Nothing New.

26th we Hourly Expect to Hear that the Enimy have Lift Philadel-
phia. I have the fever & ague to Day.

27th Nothing New.

28 I am very sick.

29 I take a Puke to Day.

30th I am better.

31^t we are yet in suspence Respecting the Enimy.s going from Philadelphia.

June 1^t more or Less Deserters from the Enimy Every Day.

2^d Nothing New.

3^d D^o

4 D^o

5 I have got the better of the fever & ague.

6 the Enimy have sent of the most of their baggage down the River.

7 Lord Cornwallis with the Commissioners for making Peace between Great Brittan & America have arriv'd in Philadelphia.

8 Nothing New.

9th the New arrangement of the army has arriv'd from Congress.

10th the whole army mov'd out of Huts into tents to Day, about one Mile in front of our old incampment, for the sake of fresh Air;

11th this Day I sent a Letter Home which is the first I have had an opportunity of sending since I Left Home.

12th Nothing Extreordinary to Day.

13th D^o

14 D^o

15 D^o

16 D^o

17 we hear that the Enimy are Crossing the River over into the Jerseys.

18 this four noon we are Assured that the Enimy have Lift Philadelphia & our advanced Parties have taken Possession. Genl^l Lees Division is ordered to march Immediately for Corells ferry. & at 3 O Clock we march, his Division Consists of three brigades viz: Poors, Huntingtons & Varnoms.

20th we Cross. Correll ferry & Proceeded 3 miles & incamp'd.

21st we Lay still. we hear the whole Army are on their way into the Jerseys. we hear the Enimy are on their way to New york, Govenor Livingston of Jersey has taken the field with 5000 militia.

22st our Whole army Incamp'd about 3 miles from Correeels Ferry in Jersey.

23^d the army march'd to Day towards the Enimy 10 miles, without Baggage, & Incamp'd at Hopewell.

24th a Detachment of 1500 Pick'd men was taken to Day from the army to be Commanded by Brigadier Genl^l Scot who are to act as Light Infantry Dureing the stay of the Enimy In Iersey. — Col^o Cilley & I am in one Reg^t of the Light Infantry — Genl^l Scot march'd to Day towards the Enimy, who are at Allin Town 14 miles from Prince Town. — we march'd thro Prince Town & Proceeded 3 miles towards allin Town & Incamp'd we have no Tents or baggage.

25th this morning we march'd within 5 miles of the Enimy — & Halted & Drew Provision. sent a small Party of Horse to Reconoightir the Enimy. at 12 O Clock we ware Inform'd that the Enimy ware on their way to Monmouth Coart House. Which is Towards Sandy Hooch Our main army is Near Prince Town, we are now Prepared to Harress the Enimy. Genl^l Scot 1500 men Genl^l Maxwell 1000 Col^o Morgan 500 — Genl^l Dickerson 1000 — Militia; & 200 Horse. the above Detachment^s are on the Flanks & Rear of the Enimy. Genl^l Washington is in our Rear with 12000 men to support us — at 4 O Clock P. M

we march'd to Allin Town & Incamp'd — the Enimys Rear is 5 miles from us.

26th we march'd Early this Morning after the Enimy. the weather is Extreemly Hot, we are Obliged to march very Modirate. the Enimy Desert very fast. we are Ioin'd to Day by the Marquis De lafiette with a Detachment of 1000 men. — we advanced within three miles of the Enimy, & Incamp'd. the Enimy are about Monmouth Court House, on good Ground.

27th we march'd Early this morning within one mile of the Enimy. & ware ordered by an Express from Genl Washington to Counter March to where we Incamp'd Last night, & from thence to file off to English Town (which Lay 7 miles on Our Left as we followed the Enimy) & their Join Genl Lee Who was there with 2000 men. the weather Remains very Exceeding Hot. & water is scarce we ariv'd at English Town about the middle of the Day & Incamp'd. the Enimy Remain at Monmouth. Genl Washington with the Grand army Lays about 5 mile in our Rear. Deserters Come in in Large numbers.

28th haveing Intilgence this morning before sun Rise, that the Enimy ware mooving, we ware Ordered, together with the Troops Commanded by the Marquis & Genl Lee (in the whole About 5000) to march towards the Enimy & as we thought to Attact them. — at Eleven o Clock A. M. after marching about 6 or 7 miles we ariv'd on the Plains Near monmouth Court House, Where a Collumn of the Enimy appeard in sight, a brisk Cannonade Commens'd on both sides. the Collumn which was advancing towards us Halted & soon Retired, but from some moovements of theirs we ware Convinced they Intended to fight us, shifted our ground. form'd on very good Ground & waited to see if they Intended to Come on, we soon Discovered a Large Collumn Turning our Right & an other Comeing up in our Frount With Cavelry in front of both Collumns Genl Lee was on the Right of our Line who Left the ground & made Tracks Quick Step towards English Town. Genl Scots Detachment Remaind on the ground we form'd on until we found we war very near surrounded — & ware Obliged to Retire which we Did in good order altho we ware hard Prest on our Left flank. — the Enimy haveing got a mile in Rear of us before we began to Retire & ware bearing Down on our Left as we went off & we Confin'd by a Morass on our Right. after Retireing about 2 miles we met his Excelency Genl Washington who after seeing what Disorder Genl Lee's Troops ware in appeerd to be at a Loss whether we should be able to make a stand or not. however he order-d us to form on a Heighth, & Indeavour to Check the Enimy. we form'd & about 12 Peices of Artillery being brought on to the hill with us: the Enimy at the same time advancing very Rappedly finding we had form'd, they

form'd in our front on a Ridge & brought up their Artillery within about 60 Rods of our front. *When the brisket Cannonade Commenced on both sides* that I Ever heard. — Both Armies ware on Clear Ground. & if any thing Can be Call'd Musical where their is so much Danger, I think that was the finest musick, I Ever heard. — *however* the agreeableness of the musick was very often Lessen'd by the balls Coming too near — Our men being very much beat out with Fateague & heat which was very Intence, we order-d them to sit Down & Rest them selves, — from the time we first met the Enimy until we had form'd as above mentioned several severar scurmishes hapened at Different Places & Times, — Soon after the Cannonade became serious a Large Collum of the Enimy began to Turn our Left — Some Part of our Artillery Play'd upon them very Briskly & they finding their main Body ware not. advancing. halted — the Cannonade Continued about 2½ Hours & then the Enimy began to Retire from their Right. Genl Washington being in front of our Reg^t when the Enimy began to Retire on their Right he ordered Col^l Cilley & me with ab^t 300 men to go & attact the Enimies Right wing. which then was Passing thro an orchard, but when they found we ware about to attact them they form'd & stood Redy to Receive us, when we ariv'd within 200 yards of them we form-d Batallion & advanc'd but having two Rail fences to take Down as we advanced, (the Last of which was within 60 yards of the Enimy) we Could advance but slowly, the Enimy when we ware takeing Down the Last fence, give us a very heavy fire which we Did not Return. after takeing Down the Last fence we march'd on with armes shoulderd Excep^t 20 men who we sent on their Right to scurmish with them while we Pass.d the fences. the Enimy finding we ware Determined to Come to Close quarter, fil'd off from the Left & Run off upon our Right into a swamp & formd in the Edge of it, we Wheel'd to the Right & advanc'd towards them, they began a heavy fire upon us we ware Desending toward them in Open field, with shoulder'd armes until we had got within 4 Rods of them when our men Dress'd very Coolly & we then gave them a very heavy fire from the whole Batallion. they had two Peices of artillery across a small Run which Play'd with grape very briskly upon us but when they found we ware Determin'd to Push upon them they Retreated to their main body which was giving way & ware Persued by some Parties from our Line. we Persued until we got Possession of the field of Battle, where we found 300 Dead & a Considerable number of wound, — among the Dead was Col^l Mungton & a number of other officers. the Enimy Retired — across a Morass & formed. Our men being beat out with heat & fateague it was thought not Prudent to Persue them. Great numbers of the Enemy Died with heat & some of ours — we Remain'd on the field of Battle & ware to attact the Enimy Early Next morning but they Prevented us by a Precipitate Retreat in the middle of the night. they

Left 5 Officers wounded at Monmouth Court House the Enimies Whole Loss in the Battle of Monmouth was 327 kill'd

500 wounded
95 Prisoner

Our Loss —

63 kill'd
210 wounded

Here Ends the famous Battle of Monmouth.

29th we Lay still to Recrute our men there being no Probility of Coming up with the Enimy before they take Possession of the Heights Near Sandy Hooch where their shipping Lays it being but about 12 miles from Monmouth.

30th we Lay still to Day.

July 1st our whole Army March'd this morning (Excep^t the Jersey Troops.) to Spots wood 10 miles towards Brunswick. the weather Remains Extreemly Hot, vast numbers of our men fell Down with the Heat to Day & some Died.

2^d we March'd this Morning at 2 O Clock in the morning. Proceeded to Brunswick 10 mile & incamp'd. — Gen^l Lee is Arested to Day by Gen^l Washington for Disobedience of orders in not attacking the Enimy & for making an unnessesary & shameful Retreet &c A General Court Marcial is ordered to set to Day for his tryal — I Obtained Leave to go to Morristown to Day to see after my Baggage which Came from New hampshire together with some slate stone &

3^d I am at Morris Town this Day.

4th was Celibrated as being the Anniversary of the Declaration of the amERICAN Indipendence By the whole army being turnd out under armes. & the Artillery bing Interspers'd thro the whole army Exceipt thirteen Peices which ware Placed on the Right of the army. the Celebration began with a Discharge of the 13 Cannon on the Right of the army seconded by a Running fire first thro the front Line of Cannon & musketry & then the second Line succeeded by three Cheers from the whole army after Proclaiming Perpetual & undisturb'd Independence to the united States of America.

5th the Left wing of our army marches to Day towards kings ferry — I go to to New Ark to Day.

6th the Right wing March'd to Day.

7th the Rear Line March'd to Day I Ioined the Reg^t at Springfield 6 mils from Elizebeth Town to Day.

8th we march'd 10 miles to Day to Crab Orchard 5 miles from New Ark & Incamp'd.

9th we Lay still to Day.

- 10th we march'd 10 miles to Slawterdam.
 11th March'd 10 miles to Paraumus & Incamped.
 12th we Lay still to Day. we hear that a french fleet is on our Coast.
 13th we Lay still.
 14th we March'd to kakaate — we have the Ceartenty of the french fleets being at Sandy Hooek.
 15th we March'd to kings ferry.
 16th we Cross'd kings ferry.
 17th we March'd to Peeks kill.
 18th we March'd 12 miles to Croten bridge.
 19th we Lay still.
 20th we March'd 12 miles within 4 miles of White Plains & Incamp'd.
 21st we Lay still.
 22^d as yesterday.
 24th we March'd to White Plains & Incamp'd.
 25 Nothing new.
 26 the york Regiments are taken from Genr! Poors Brigade & Col^l Hasous is Put in their stod.
 27th Nothing new.
 28th Deserters Come in Conciderable numbers.
 29 we hear an Expedition against is form'd by Genr! Sullivan & Count De Stange against Rode Island two Brigades have march'd from here for that Place.
 30th nothing new.
 31st we hear the french fleet have taken a Large number of Prises & sent in to Different Ports.
 August 1st Nothing new.
 2^d we hear the Enimy are block'd up in Newport & that they had been Oblig'd to burn several frigates & other vessels.
 3^d Nothing Extreordinary.
 4th as yesterday.
 5th D^o
 6th D^o
 7th D^o
 8th D^o
 9th I got a fine dinner of Quohogs & Oisters to Day.
 10th we are Dayly Expecting to hear that Newport has fallⁿ into our hands with the Garrison.
 11th Nothing New.
 12th as yesterday.
 13th D^o
 14th d^o

15th we hear Lord How has gone from N york to Pay Count De Astange a visit.

16th we hear that when Lord How Made his appearence off Rhode Island, the Count Waid anchor & stood after him. Lord How Put to see & the Count followed him & how they will make it nobody knows but Ministers, they have had very high Winds since they Put to sea for several Days.

17th at 9 O Clock this Morning 11 men war to be Executed in Camp for Different Crimes. One of them was shot & the others Repreiv'd until fryday.

18th we have had a Long spell of fowl weather & high winds.

19th we hear a british frigate & Roegalley has got on shore in Jersey.

20th Nothing Extreordinary — I am Officer of the Day.

21st we hear there has been a battle at Sea between the French & British fleets, & the British fleet is worsted & Return'd to N. York.

22^d Nothing New.

23^d I have a fine Dinner of Quohogs &c &c &c &c &c &c &c &c, to Day.

24th we hear to Day from Rhode island that Count De Asstange has Returnd there, with a bum Cetch & several other Prises, — & that Genr! Sullivan has taken several Redouts from the Enimy.

25th Nothing new.

26 D^r

27th we hear Count Destange has gone to boston.

28th we hear Lord How has gone out to sea.

29th a Conciderable fleet is in the sound supposed to bound to Rhode island.

30th I am summoned as an Evidence upon a Genr! Court Marcial for the Tryal of Maj^r Genr! S^t Clear.

31st nothing new.

Septem^r 1st a skurmish hapened to Day near kings bridge between a Party of our Indians & a Party of the Enimys foot & Horse where Nine Indians ware surrounded & killd. — a Party of Light Troops of ours Came to support the Indians & Drove the Enimy within their Lines after killing a number & taking several Prisoners.

2^d we hear Genr! Sullivan has had a battle on Rhode island he was attact as he was Indevouring to Retreet off of the Island. a Conciderable heavy Battle Insued. Sullivan Recovered the field & forc'd the Enimy within their strong Holds with Cornsiderable Loss on both sides — the Next Day Genr! Sullivan made a safe Retreet from the Island & brought his Baggage & Every other matter of with him.

3^d we hear an English Fleet has Lately ariv'd at New york — & that Count Destange is in Boston harbour. & that Genr! Sullivan has made a safe Retreet from Rhode island.

4th the Committee of Congress are now in Camp for the Purpose of New arraingeing the army nearly upon the brittish Plan.

5th we hear Admirell Byren has arived with a Learge Fleet & has Block'd up Count De Astange in Boston harbour.

6th Nothing New.

7th we hear that an English fleet is Laying off New London.

8th the Enimy March'd a Large body from New york into the Country about six miles & toock 5 of our Light Horse & 20 waggon Horses which ware feeding in a Meddow.

9th a small Party of our men in boats went across the sound Last night & burnt 3 vessels toock 10 men & killd 11 & toock a Large Quantity of Baggage. — Genr! Poors, Pattersons & Learnards Brigades are Ordered to be Redy to March to Morrow morning at Nine o Clock.

10th we are Redy to march but Due not.

11th we march this morning at sun Rise towards Danbury 8 mils & incamp.

12th we March 8 miles & incamp.

13th we Lay still to Day.

14th Our main army marchd to Day from white Plains towards fish kill.

15th Nothing New.

16th we march'd to Ridg field 7 miles & Incamp'd.

17th we Lay still by Reason of a sevear storm.

18th we March'd to Danbury 10 miles & Incamp'd our main army is incamped at & Near fredricksburge between this & fishkill.

19th Nothing Extreordinery to Day.

20th Genr! M^cDoogels Division arivd to Day & Incamp'd at Danbury, his Division Consisted of Nixons & the N Carolina Brigades.

21st We are ordered to hold our selves in Rediness to march at the shortest Notice.

22^d Nothing new.

23^d a heavy storm to Day.

24th From all accounts, it appears, that the Enimy are about Leaving New York. Some Conjecture they are going to Boston, Others that they are going to Canada, Hallifax & the West Indies.

25th Nothing new.

27 we have a Report that there has been an Ingagement between A French Fleet of 31 sail & a British fleet of 33 sail, the Latter Commanded by Admiral Keppel, who it is said was killed in the action — & his fleet beat & Oblige'd to Return into Port.

28th I Dined with Genr! Gates to Day. who shew me a Letter he had Receivd from the Adjatant Genr! of the french Troops at Boston giving an account of the above mentioned Action.

29th Nothing Extreordinery.

30th as yesterday we have very fine weather.

Octob' 1st Nothing Extreordinary to Day.

2^d as yesterday.

3^d D^o

4th weather very fine for the season.

5th we are in a state of suspence Respecting the Enimys Leaving N. York.

6th this Day two men belonging to N. Hampshire (one by the Name of Blare, belonging to Holderness, the other Farnsworth of Hollis,) — ware taken up within the Lines of our Army, with a Learge sum of Counterfit Money. which they brought from N. York. we hear that the french have take Domoneak & have sail'd for Iamaka.

7th A Special Coart Marcial was ordered to sit to Day for the Tryal of the two men above mentioned, of which I was a member, they ware tried for being spys & haveing a Learge sum of Counterfit money with them Which they brough from N. York. they Confess'd they ware Guilty of bringing the Counterfit money & that they ware to send word to the Enimy = viz: Col's Holland & Stark, & Esq^r Cummins & others what situation our army & Country is in, as Near as tha Could; they ware both Condemn'd to suffer Death as Spys — our men had a Gill of Rum Extr^a to Day on account of its being the anniverciry of the Glorious victory Obtaind over the british army, at bemus s Heights. — & the Officers in General had a Meeting at Evining had a social Drink & gave several toasts sutible for the Occasion. — & our men had a Grand sham fight.

8th Nothing Extreordinary to Day.

9th as yesterday.

10th we have a heavy & Cold storm to Day.

11th We are ordered to be in the greatest Possibler Rediness for marching. it is said the Enimy are imbarcking as fast as Possible. *God grant it may be True.*

12th Nothing New.

13th as yesterday.

14th D^o

15th D^o

16th we are Prepareing for keeping up to Morrow.

17 this being the first Anniversary of the Glorious 17th of Octob' 1777. the field Officers of this Division Make an Entertainment for all the Officers of the Division, & Gentlemen of the Town. — we Eat Dinner on a small hill between two of the brigades, — after the officers of the three Brigades had assembled, on the hill by marching in Divisions 13 in Each, thirteen Cannon ware Discharg'd from Each Brigade at which time Gen^l Gates arivd with a number of other Gen^l Officers. there was then three Cheers from the whole Division. at Dinner we had about 350

Officers & other gentlemen. after Dinner there was 13 toasts Drank — & a Cannon Discharged for Each. — at Evining we Retire'd to the Town, & spent the Evining very agreeably.

18th we are getting sober. — & Genl Poors Brigad is ordered to march to Morrow.

19th we march at 10 O Clock towards Hartford. I Receiv'd News this Day by Express that my wife Lay Dangerously sick with a Nervous Fever. In Consequence of which I got Leave of absince & set out for home this Evining.

24th I ariv'd at my House at 7 O Clock in the Evining. found my wife Senceless & almost Motionless. which was a very shocking sight to behold. at half after Eleven she Expired. much Lamented not only by her Relations but by all her Neighbours. — this was a very Trying scene to me. I seem'd to be Quite alone in the world. Except my two Little Daughters who are two small to feel their Loss, or offer me any Comfort.

25th the most Melloncolly Sunday I Ever Experinced.

26th the Remains of My Deceas'd wife was this Day Interrd, on which Occation there was a very Great Number of People assembled from several Neighbouring Towns who universally seemd Heartily to Mourn my Loss.

27th —————

Novem^r 12th 1778 I set out from home to Ioin the army. — went by Boston stayd 4 Days with Genl Gates & went to Rhode Island tary'd 3 days with Genl Sullivan & the 26th ariv'd at Hartford. found Col Reid & several of our Officers who set out with me the 28th for Danbury where Genl Poors Brigade is Desten'd. after marching to Hartford & back to Danbury where I ariv'd the 30th in a heavy storm of Rain Hail & Snow & to my Great mortifycation found we ware order'd to Hut once more. I find that the 2 men who ware try'd as spyes the 7th of octobr at Danbury, ware hang'd at Hartford Novem^r 4th

Decem^r 1st we are Looeking out ground to Hut on. Genl Burguoyns army from Cambridg have Cross'd the North River on their way to virginia, where they are to be station'd.

2^d we March'd 6 miles towards the Sound & Incamped Near where we are to build our Huts.

3^d we are Laying out our Ground to Hut on.

4th we began this Day to build Huts. we hear that Genl Green & Col Beedle ware taken a few Days since by a Party of Tories in Jersey where they ware Looeking out for Quarters for his Excellency — we Likewise hear that Col Alden was not Long since kill'd & Inhumanely butcher'd by the Savages & Tories at Cherry valley, & his L^t Col & Maj^r made Prisoners.

5th at twelve at Night we ware alarm'd by hearing that the Enimy are at Terry Town (below Peek's kill) in force, in Consequence of

which a Detachment of 1500 men from the three Brigades under Genr! Putmans Command were ordered to march. we marched two Hours before Day for bedford which is 20 miles from our Camp. Where we ariv'd the afternoon of the same Day. Where we had a Maggazine of Provision Collecting. when the Enemy found we ware Like to meet them they Immediately Retired on board their ships & Return'd to york. we Remained at bedford to night. we hear to Day that the Report of Genr! Green's being Taken is not True but Col! Ward Commissiary Genr! of Musters was taken at the Place where we heard Genr! Green was taken.

7th we Remain'd at bedford.

8th we marched to Ridgfield on our way to Camp.

9th we Return'd to Camp — I understand Genr! Washington with the Grand army are Huting in Jersey at a Place Call'd Midle Brook between Morristown & Brunswick. — Genr! Putmans Command is Poors, Parsons-s & Huntingtons Brigades, stationed about Danbury.

10th we have a very seveal storm of snow & Rain to Day & we living in Tents.

11th the weather very Cold, the snow about 6 inches Deep.

12th we are very busy at work upon our Huts, amongst the snow.

13 a very heavy storm of Rain, — & no bread for two Days.

14th good weather.

15th we are Covering our Huts.

16th we begin to git into our Huts.

17th a heavy Rain.

18th fine weather.

19th we are in our Huts.

20 Eight of our men appeard to be Poisoned by Eating Chees. I have sent for the People who sold the Chees.

21st the Brigade is Mustered to Day.

22 a seveal snow Storm.

23^d Genr! Poor Col! Cilley & a number of other officers set out for home to Day. the weather is very Cold. the New Arraignment of the army toock Place in our Hampshire Troops yesterday. — we have Try,d the People who sold the Cheese to our soldiers which I suspected was Poisond but they ware thought to be Innocent.

24th we had a snow Last night & very seveal Cold to Day. — our men are well Cloath'd & well Huttet.

Christmas Day. the weather is so very Cold we take but very little notice of the Day.

26th we have a very seveal snow storm.

27th the weather seems more like Canada, then Connecticut. — the Honb! Sylas Dean has made a voyolent attact upon the Lees — (viz: Richard H. Lee in Congress, Arthur Lee agent at the Court of Madrid,

& William Lee our agent at the Courts of viane & Barlain) — in the Fish Kill Paper. taxing them with unfaithfulness to the states.

28th there is a general uneasiness among the soldiers of Genr^l Putmans Division — on account of the Depresiation of our Currency the Consequences of which I fear will Prove unhappy.

29th we have nothing new to Day.

30th this is Thanksgiving Day throughout the Continent. — our men have Half a Pint of Rum Each to keep it with.

31st we hear the Enimy have releas-d all the Prisoners they had at Rhod Island by reason of their being scant of Provisions.

January 1st 1779. Old time keeps on her Coars, we find another year has Commens.d. thro the Coarse of which it is highly Probable from the Present situation of affairs in the Different Quarters of the world Many Important Events will turn up.

2^d Nothing new to Day.

3^d we have fine weather.

4th we have a Detachment of 200 men sent off to to Day who are to be Considered as an advanced Post to this Division. they are stationed Near the sound.

5th the face of the Earth is again Cover'd with snow. — we have received a supply of Cloathing for the Hampshire officers from the board of war for that state.

6th nothing Extraordinary to Day.

7th I am Pr.s.d^t of a Brigade Coart Marcial, which sets for the Tryal of Several Theives to Day.

8th on Coart Martial.

9th Nothing new.

10th we hear to Day that there has been a Duel fought between Genr^l Lee & Col^o Lawrence one of Genr^l Woshingtons Aide de campes in which Genr^l Lee received a wound in the belley by a Pistol shot.

11th Nothing new — but flanking &c.

12th as yesterday.

13th we have a fine Snow to night.

14 nothing Extreordinery.

15 we hear a Duel has been fought between between Genr^l Arnold & a Cetisan of Phyladelphia, the latter, Receiv'd a wound.

16 Nothing but flanking.

17th as yesterday.

18 Nothing new.

19th flanking.

20th very Cold.

21st the old story.

22^d I went to the sound for Oysters.

23^d Returnd from Norwalk.

24th Nothing new.

25th flanking.

26 we hear the Enemy are coming to Pay us a visit. — fl.

27 we are making some Preparations to meet the Enemy.

28th Nothing new. — f. l.

29th as yesterday f. l.

30th fl.

31st Nothing new.

February 1st we have very fine weather.

2^d Nothing N. — fl.

3 D^e

4th I am ordered to take Command of 400 men who are Detach'd from Gen^l Putnams Division, & March to New London — to garrison that Town — f!

5th I March'd for New London as far as fairfield.

6th March'd to Milford.

7th March'd to New Haven.

8th March'd to Gilford.

9th March'd to Killingsworth.

10th March'd to Lime.

11th March'd to New London.

12th I am Reconoytring the fortifications in & about Town, & Procureing proper Quarters for the Troops.

13th we live very happy here.

14 Nothing new.

15 as yesterday.

16th a fine Dance.

17th Nothing new.

18th a fine Dance & f!

19th Nothing important.

20th I saw the British Tyrants speech made at the Opening of his Parliament — which appears more (like a Dying spee[ch]) then otherwise.

21st nothing new.

22^d we had an Elligant Ball. at which was a Learge number of very fine Ladies — & fl.

23^d I Dined with Gen^l Parsons at Esq^r Mumfords at Groton. where I spent one of the most agreable after noons with * * * * * I have had for some months.

24th nothing new.

25th as yesterday.

26th we have remarkable warm weather.

27th we hear a Spanish Imbassador has ariv'd at congress with a learge sum of hard money.

28th Sunday I go to meeting.

March 1st 1779. I was at a Dance on board the Confediracy frigate. — & f! a Prize brigantine with salt was sent in here to Day — we are informd that a body of the Enimy from york made an attempt last week to Distroy Elisabath Town in the Jerseys but ware very Roughly handled by a body our troops happend to meet them & Obliged to make tracks back Quick step but not without a conciderable loss. — the same day a body of the Enimy march from Kings bridg to Hors neck where we had a guard of 100 men, the Enimy after Plundering the Inhabitants of their Houshold furniture & abusing the women in a very shameful manner ware Oblig'd to make a Preceperate retreat finding they ware like to be cut of by Genr! Putnams Division — our troops killd a number of them & made 52 Prisoners.

2^d nothing new.

3^d fine weather & f!

4th we had an Elligent Dinner two miles from Town at M^r Rogers,s — to Day.

5th nothing new.

6 D^o

7th D^o

8th D^o

9th — — — f! had an Eligent ball.

10 the ship Defence of 18 guns ran on shor near the mouth of this harbour & is Lost. Crew & Stores saved we are asured that Spain & the two Cissalees have accceeded to the Independency of america, & Rushia has refused Assisting Great briton with men or stores.

11th — — — f!

12th I receive orders to march what troops are here (belonging to Genr! Poors Brigade) back to Reading, toot sweet [tout de suite]. — — on some important matters.

13th Genr! Parsons Receiv'd orders to March the whole Detachment back to Camp.

14 we have a severe Snow Storm to Day.

15 we are prepareing to march. — f!

16 Cap! Lloyds Company from Col^o Hazens Reg^t March-d to Day for camp we had a fine Dance this Evining.

17 Nothing new.

18 — — — — f!

19 the troops from Genr! Poors Brigade are ordered to march to morrow morning for Camp. a snow storm to Day.

20th the Hampshire troops march'd to day for Camp.

21st Sunday went to meeting & f! receiv'd orders from Genr! Putnam to Join the Reg^t

22 nothing but — f. l.

23 I am to set out for Camp — to Day — 14 of the Enimys transports were stranded on gardners Island last night & one taken by one our Privateers.

26th I ariv'd at Camp, found our Brigade under marching orders.

27 Col^o Hazens Reg^t has march'd for Springfield — & one Hundrd of the New Hampshire troops have march'd for Peeks kill.

28th Nothing new — — f!

29th we hear the Enimy are Preparing to attact New London.

30th I take Command of the brigade.

31st fine weather.

Aprill 1st I take Quarters at Col^o Reads where Col^o Hazen has Quarterd a very agreabl family.

2^d weather Remarkable fine for the Season. fl.

3^d all the Officers of the Brigade turnd out & Play'd a game at ball the first we have had this yeare.

4 the brigade march'd to Reding meeting Hous to attend Publick worship.

5th nothing new to Day.

6th the brigade is marching by Divisions, viz 100 men in a day for Peekskill.

7th a Coniderable number of Masons had a feast to Day at Reading where a fine Collection of ladies attended — 333.

8th the weather is very fine for the Season it is said by the old men so forward a Spring has not been known.

9th we had a very Desent Dance at my Quarters which we consider as the last we shall have this year.

10th the Peech trees are beging to blow.

11 the peech trees are in full blow — the last of our Brigade march'd to Day.

12th nothing new to Day.

13th I Rais'd a Seeige this morning of 2 months & march for Peeks kill, we had a very heavy thunder Storm last night.

14th arivd at Peeks kill found our brigade Quartered in Huts in the Highlands where we have no neighbors but Owls, Hedghogs, & Rattle-snakes & them in plenty.

15th a Small guard of ours was Surprised this week in Gersey by a party of Tories from N. York & every man put to the bayonet on the Spot under the cover of a dark night.

16th I have been recornoyrtering the mountain to day. & have moovd into a Hut my Self.

17th we ware oblig'd to walk 4 miles to day to find a place leavel enough to play ball.

18 we had a very severe frost Last night I fear it will prove fatal to the fruit :

19th nothing new.

20th D^o

21st d^o

22 d^o

23^d we certain Intiligence today of the capture of 8 of the Enimies vessels bound from N. york to Georgey, viz. one 20 gun ship one 16 gun Ship & 6 transports Containing 800 men 5000 Barrells of provisions 40000 Guineas — furniture for 2 Reg^t of Hors, a very learg Quantity of English good & 24 British Officers — the above prises ware taken by the warren Frigate of 32 guns, the Ranger of 20 guns & the Queen of France of 20 guns.

24th nothing new.

25 we hear a body of the Enimy are Imbarking at york for the southward Maj^r Norris & several of our officers ariv'd in camp to day from N. H.

26th nothing new.

27th D^o

28th D^o

29th D^o

30th a Severe Snow Storm to day.

1st May — very pleasant.

2^d we hear Col^o Vanskoyk has destroyd the On Ondogo tribe & Town of Indians we hear a body of the Enimy are in the Jerseys.

3^d we Expect to march from this the 8th or 9th Ins^t

4 nothing new.

5th D^o

6th we are ordered to be hold our selves in redyness to march at the shortest notice.

7th Col^o Cilleys Reg^t is orderd to be redy to march to morrow.

8 Col^o Cilleys Reg^t is order'd to march to morrow morning.

9th Col^o Cilley Reg^t march'd to day & crossd the North River to New Windsor opposite Fishkill & orderd to march to East Town in Penselvania.

10 I am order'd to prepare to march.

11 we are Drawing Cam Equippage to day for the 2^d & 3^d Batt^{ies}.

12th we are prepareing to march.

13th as yesterday.

14th D^o

15 d^o

16th I am order'd to march to Morrow with the 2^d & 3^d N. H. Battalions to Easton in Penselvania.

17th we march to Fish kill.

18th Cross the North River & march'd 9 miles. — Gen^l Poor & Col^o Cilley arived to day from N. Hampshire.

19th we March 14 miles to day.

20th we march'd 12 miles & ware Stop'd by a Storm.

21st Stormy to day, we lay still — sold both my Horses to day for 1800 dollers.

22^d Stormy to Day.

23 March-d to Sussex Court House.

24th March'd to Mount Hope, or Moravian village.

25th March'd within 4 miles of Easton.

26th Cross'd the Deliware to Easton & incamp-d in Tents — found Genl^l Sullivan & Genl^l Maxwells Brigade.

27th Col^l Cilleys Reg^t is ordered to march to wiomen — where we all Expect to go soon.

28 Col^l Cilleys Reg^t March'd for wyomen to day.

29th I went to Bethleham.

30th Sunday I went to german Church — their manner of worship appears very Sollom.

31 Nothing Extreordinery.

June 1st I toock a touer round the country about 8 or ten mils from Camp to see what kind of inhabitants there was, & — — — f!

2^d — — — f!

3^d I am on a genl^l Court Martial for the tryal of some Tories who have been detected in Inticeing our soldiers to desert to the Enimy.

4th as yesterday.

5th D^o — we hear that Genl^l Lincoln has gain'd a very Conconsiderable victory over the Enimy near Charles Town in South Carolina. it is said he kill'd & toock 1400 of the Enemy — we are likewise assured that Col^l Clark of Virginia with a body of troops has taken a small fortress near Detroit. Garrison'd by L^t Govener Ham & 101 men, & the nex day after takeing the fort, 20 Indian warrier returning from a scout came up to the fort now knowing it had been taken: the virgenians fire'd upon them & kill'd 18 out of the 20 the other two made their escape.

6th nothing new.

7th D^o

8th d^o

9 two men, Inhabitents a sentenced to suffer Death by a Court Martial for Inticeing soldiers to desert to the Enimy & affording them their assistance to git to the Enimy.

10th Nothing new.

11th D^o

12th 3 penselvania Soldiers ware hanged to day for murder.

13th nothing new.

14th we have the news from the southward confirmed, as follows viz. the Enimy made an attact upon the City of Charles Town in South Carolina & ware repuls'd, they made a second attact with fix'd Bayonets,

Gen^r Lincoln who was in the Rear of the Enemy came up & fell on the Enemy with great Spirit, put them to flight leaving 1483 dead & wounded, & 3000 of the tories laid down their arms — in Consequence of the above news, we fired a fude Joy [feu de joie] — Lady Washington came to town to day, on her way from Head Quarters to Virginia.

15th Gen^r Sullivan, the other Gen^r & field officers waited on Misses Washington this morning to Bethlehem 12 miles.

16th All the Troops are order'd to march to Morrow morning for wyomen.

Journal of Henry Dearborn from June 20, 1782, to March 1, 1783.

June 20th 1782 After compleeting the Public business I was ordered to perform by the Commander in Chief, &c. — I set out for Camp.

29th I arriv'd at Head Quarters at Newburgh on the Hudson River.

July 9th I [s]et out from Newburgh to Join my Reg^t at Saratogea.

17th I Ioidn my Reg^t — in the month of April last Sir Henry Clinton Commander in Chief at New York, was recall'd and Sir Guy Carleton arriv'd to take command of the British Army in America, — who brought over some pretended terms for a peace or truce, which ware with propriety totally rejected by Congress. — A total change in the British Ministry having taken place has flattered us to believe that we shall soon have a peace, but I fear it will only serve to enable Briton to act with more vigor against us. — a very severe and bloody navel ingagement hapened on the 12th of April in the West Indias between Admiral Rodney & Cound De Grass, in which the french ware unfortunate, not being able to bring but part of their fleet to action, after a very obstinate ingagement the Action terminated in favor of the English, the French having lost 6 ships of the line one of which was the Ville De Payris in which was Count De grass.

July 19th we hear that a coniderable body of the Enemy have appered on the Mohawk River, have kill'd some men, taken some, & drove off a learge number of cattle.

July 27th I began to erect some fortifications at this Garrison for its better security.

30th altho we keep constant scouting parties at a coniderable distence, on different parts of the Lakes George and Champlain, no parties of the Enemy have yet been discover'd. — more plentiful harvests ware never known in this country than there is at present.

August 2^d we receiv'd accounts of the States of Hollands having declared the thirteen united States of America independent. it is reported that a new set of Commissioners have arrived at New York from Briton with new and fresh pardons for us Rebels; — we hear that the

French Army is on their march from Virginia to the Northward, it is hoped that the Campaign will not terminate in the manner we fear'd it would not long since.

8th we are inform'd that a French Fleet has arriv'd in the Chesapeek Bay consisting of 13 sail of line of Battle Ships, — and likewise that the States of Holland have acknowledged the independency of these States, through the authority of their High Mightinsses, and have utterly refused to make a separate peace with Briton. — All these things are for us. — a small scout of mine took a new whale boat in Lake George belonging to the Enemy, which had been secreted by a small party that had come over the lake for the purpose of plundering the inhabitants and carrying some poor defenceless man to Canada.

20th we are inform'd that the French Fleet that arriv'd in the Chesapeek Bay a few week agoe has arriv'd in Boston Harbour. — a general Peace is much talk'd of.

22^d went to Stillwater to an ordination in the woods, &c., &.

Sept: 1st we are informed from authority that the Enemy have left Savannah in Georgy.

Sept: 2 we hear that our main Army have taken the field.

15 the French Army have arriv'd from the Southward & incamp'd near our main army.

20 Peace & the enemies Leaving New York is all the talk.

25 we are informd from prety good authority that an action has happened in the East Indies between the French & British fleets in which the French ware victorious, the British Admiral by the name of Hughes, with several other ships fell into the hands of the French.

28th the Enemy in all parts of this Continent appear to have no intentions of prosicuting the war any further, no fighting has happened for a long time. an other revolution has taken place in the British Ministry, on account of the death of the Marquess of Rockingham, first Lord of the Treasury, to which vacancy Lord Shelborn was appointed by y^e King which occasiond the resignation of Charles Fox & some others. it is feard that this revolution in the British Ministry will have a tendency to prolong the war, as those Ministers that ware for Peace are no longer in office. — we have had various accounts of a Treaty for Peace, said to be on foot between Briton, France, Spain, Holland & America, and that a congress of Agents from the different Powers has been seting at Paris several months, from which we expect much, a speedy & honorable Peace is the general cry of America, & I believe great Briton is far from being averce to Peace.

Octob: 5th having heard much said of several springs of an uncommon kind that are situate about twelve miles west from the Garrison, I was induced to pay them a visit this day in company with several other Gentlemen. I was much disappointed in finding the quality or taste of

the water as well as the very extraordinary situation of it infinitely more curious than I expected, the water is clear the taste is hard to describe; to me it appeared at first tasting to partake much of alkaline qualities—but on drink freely it appeared to be between good porter & cyder in taste and was not ungrateful to my taste. many are excessive fond of it, a frequent use of those waters have (as common report says,) proved a cure for many different disorders, such as the rumitism, gout falting sickness, Ague & fever, many cutaneous disorders, scorbutic and venereal complaints, and for all kind of external ulcers, indeed those waters have proved so effectual in curing many old & stubborn complaints of various kinds, that people from many parts of the country flock to the springs for almost all kind of disorders. there is three or four of the springs within a space of eighty rods, one of them is quite a curiosity, the water is contain'd in a stone that has without doubt been formed from the water itself, of a conick figure resembling a sugar Loaf in shape, it is about eighteen feet in circumference at the ground, about five feet in highth, and about two feet over at the top, at which place it has a cavity in the senter about ten inches over, which remains nearly of the same bigness to the bottom of the stone, which cavity contains the water, which boils not much unlike a pot over the fire constantly, & at the full of the noon boils over the top, but at other times the surface of the water is from six to twelve inches below the top of the cavity.—it appears very evident from many circumstances that this stone has been formed by the over flowing of the water as those waters petrify, wherever they run, and forms large bodies of soft stone around it courses.—one other of those springs is contained in a large body of stone of the above discription, not less then forty feet in circumference but not more then 4 feet above the surface of the ground the water is contain'd in a cavity of about three feet one way & six the other, & so deep that the bottom has not been found by any that I have heard of. from this there is a considerable discharge constantly. another of those Springs is larger & calculated for bathing.—there is such a constant fermentation in the water of those springs that it cannot be confined in any close vessel, & if it is but a few hours in an open one it loses all its medicinal qualities, & becomes quite insipid:—

Octob: 17th This being the Anniversary of the Capture of Genl Burgoyne & his Army, we had an entertainment, at which was all the Officers of the Garrison, & some other Gentlemen. we spent the day & Evening in festivity & mirth. the soldiers had a gill of spirits over their allowance served out to them, to enable them to keep the day with the spirit, as well as with the understanding. a small scout from this Garrison took up one Fifield from New Hampshire, in the State of Vermont, with Inlisting orders from the Enemy in Canada. he is sent to Albany in Irons for trial.

24th we are informed that our main Army is about going into winter Quarters, at and about West Point, & that the French Troops are going to winter Quarters in the State of Connecticut; —

Octob^r 25th we were honoured by a visit of Count Viominel a Maj^r Gen^l in Count Roshambeaus Army. after reconnoitering the different works that were occupied by Gen^l Burgoyns Army & ours, spent the Afternoon in shooting small game in the woods.

Nov^r 3^d 1782 we hear from Head Quarters that a general Peace is very nearly agreed on by the several contending Powers: — by a Flag of mine that has returned from Canada, I am inform'd that the whole of our Prisoners in that Quarter are sent to New York, to be exchanged except about 300 women & children which are sent over the Lake to this place on their way to their respective homes, on parole.

Nov^r 6th I receiv'd orders to march to Join the Main Army, the 7th I march'd the same day I was relieved by the Rhode Island Reg^t — the 9th imbarcked the Reg^t at Albany & on the 12th arriv'd at Newburgh & Join'd the Main Army about 3 or four miles back of Newburgh & New Windsor where they were huting for winter, — the 2^d New Hampshire Reg^t march'd from the Mohawk River & Joind the Main Army likewise.

Nov^r 14th we began to build huts

20th we hear that Gibraltar has surrenderd to the Spaniards, & that a very large French & Spanish Armiment is proceeding against Jamaica.

25th we are informed that a large imbarcation is taking place at New York, supposed for the West Indies, it is said that Sir Guy Carleton is to command it.

Decem^r 13th 1782 I set out for home, on furlow and the 20th arrived, & found all well.

March 1st 1783 by a reformation in the new Hamp^r line in which the two Reg^s were reduced to one Reg^t & one Battalion. I being the Junior Col^o was deranged; & thus ends my millitary life, after almost eight years service I Joined the Army 1st of June, & received my discharge the 10th of June 1783 so that my services exceeded 8 years by about 1 month.

Mr. DEANE exhibited the original will of Peregrine White, which had been lent to him by the owner, the Hon. William T. Davis, of Plymouth, for this purpose, with the privilege of taking a copy if the Society should wish. The document is of no special interest, except as being the will of one born on board the "Mayflower" in Cape Cod harbor, in November, 1620, and to whom in 1665 the Court granted two hundred

acres of land, "in respect that he was the first of the English born in these parts." The will is in fine preservation, dated July 14, 1704. It bears the signature of the venerable pilgrim, — that is, the initials of his name, "P. W.," — probably all that his age and weakness permitted him to write; for he died eight days after the signing, aged eighty-three years and eight months. Mr. Davis thinks that this will has never been printed.

Will of Peregrine White.

The fourteenth day of July Anno Domini one thousand seven hundred and four

I PEREGRINE WHITE of Marshfield in y^e County of Plimouth in New England Being aged and under many Weaknesses and Bodily Infirmities But of Sound disposing mind and memory praises be Rendered to Almighty God therefore yet in dayly Expectation of my Great Change Do therefore hereby make and Declare this my last Will and Testament hereby Revoking and making null any former Will or Will by me heretofore made and declare this to be my last will and Testament and no other —

Imprimis I Humbly Commit my Soul to Almighty God that Gave it and my Body to decent Buriall when it Shall Please him to take me home And Touching my Worldly Estate which it hath pleased the Lord to Bless me with my Will and meaning is that y^e same shall be Employed and disposed as followeth that is to say after my just debts and funerall Expences are payd and discharged by my Executors hereafter named the same shall be Employed as herein is Expressed Item I Give and Bequeath to Sarah my welbeloved wife all my Goods and Chattels (not otherways disposed of by this my will the same to be for her support and Comfort for and during y^e term of her naturall Life. Item I having already by Deed under my hand and Seal Dated the 19th day of August 1674 Given and Confirmed to my Eldest Son Daniel White my Tenement or Homestead with other my land and Rights of Land in y^e Township of marshfield with y^e exceptions and Reservations therein mentioned — All which lands and premises I hereby further Confirm unto him according to y^e true meaning of y^e said Deed And I do hereby further Give and Bequeath to my said Son Daniell my Great table and fourms my Ioynworke Bedstead and Cupboard Also I Give unto my said Son Daniel y^e one moiety or half of my lands and Rights of land in y^e Township of Middleborough Always provided that in Consideration thereof he the said Daniel Keep for the use of my said wife both Summer and Winter one Cow during y^e life of my said wife Item I having Enjoyed y^e said Daniel to pay unto my Daughters Sarah and Mercy



The fourteenth day of July Anno D
I perogrine White of Marshfield in y^e
Under many Weaknesses and Bodily Infirmities
be rendered to Almighty God therefore yet in
make and declare this my last Will and Testam^{ent}
or will by me hereunto made and declare t^{hat}
In witness I humbly Commit my soul to Almighty God the
Pleas him to take me hence and Touching my
Will my will and meaning is that y^e said sh^{ould}
after my just debts and funerall Expences and
the same shall be employed as herein his Expences
my Goods and Chattels (not otherwise disposed of
for and during y^e term of her naturall life. It is
19th day of August 1674 Given and Confirmed to me
my land and rights of Land in y^e Townshipp of May
All which lands and promises I hereby further
And I do hereby further Give and bequeath to my
- Eldest and Capboard Eldest I Give unto my said Son
Middleborough Always provided that in Consideration
both Summer and Winter one Cow during y^e life of
Daughters Sarah and Mercy Each of them y^e full
my will that what is behind and unpaid by him
of y^e said Dec^{ree}. Item I Give and bequeath the off^{ice}
of Middleborough to my two sons Jonathan and p^{er}
to my said Son Jonathan my heire and to his
said Goods and Chattels that shall be remain^{ing}
four children namely Jonathan perogrine
my wife Enjoy that part of y^e dwelling house
one third of y^e rents and profits of y^e lands
y^e term of her naturall life And lastly I be
Son Daniel joynt Executors of this my last
Neighbours Samuel Sprague Senior and
advising my wife to such method as may
In Testimony whereof and in Confirmation of
my hand and Seal on y^e day and year ab
- tory one painted chair and a Coffer
Signed Sealed and declared

In the County of Plymouth in New England Being aged and

Infirmities But of sound disposing mind and memory provides
in daily Expectation of my great Change do therefore hereby
Testament hereby revoking and making null any former Will
I have made this to be my last Will and Testament and no other
God that gave it and my Body to I do not know when it shall
of my worldly Estate which it hath pleased the Lord to bless me
and shall be employed and disposed as followeth that is to say
I do give and discharge by my Executors hereafter named
I do give and bequeath to Sarah my wellbeloved wife all
of by this my Will the same to be for her support and Comfort
I do have already by deed under my hand and Seal made the
to my Eldest Son Daniel while my Tenement or Home stand with other
of my said Will with y^e exceptions and reservations therein mentioned
with Confirmation unto him according to y^e true meaning of y^e said Deed
to my said Son Daniel my Great table and furniture my Jewels Bed-
and Son Daniel y^e one moiety or half of my lands ^{land and rights of land} in y^e Township of
consideration thereof he the said Daniel for the use of my said wife
of my said wife I do have enjoyed y^e said Daniel to pay unto my
y^e sum of TEN pounds as in y^e above written deed is mentioned. It is
by him be duly paid to them out of his Estate according to y^e meaning
the other moiety or half my land and rights of land in y^e Township
and perquisite to be equally parted betweene them I further give
to his Eldest Son I give my Gun. Item it is my Will that all my
of y^e my wife he do give & equally parted betweene my
wife Sarah and more and further it is my Will that Sarah
have that I now live in and enjoy. And I hereby give her the
lands contained in y^e above written deed to hold to her during
her life hereby nominate and appoint my said wife and my said Eldest
my last Will and Testament and do require my Good friends and
and John Gogget to be overseers thereof and be helpfull in y^e
may conduct to her comfortable selfe and while she lives
of y^e promises I y^e said perquisite while have her unto see
as above written. Item before sealing I give to each of my Daughters

5 11

the same shall be employed as heretofore in his Experiments
 my Goods and Chattels (not otherwise disposed of
 for and during y^e term of her Natural life. Item
 19th day of August 1674 Given and Confirmed to my
 my Land and rights of Land in y^e Township of May
 All which lands and promises I hereby further
 And I do hereby further Give and bequeath to my
 - I have and bequeath all y^e I Give unto my said Son of
 Middleborough Always provided that in Consideration
 both Summer and Winter one Cow during y^e life of my
 daughters Sarah and Mercy Each of them y^e sum
 my will that what is behind and unpaid by him
 of y^e said Debt. Item I Give and bequeath the office
 of Middleborough to my two sons Jonathan and Peter
 to my said Son Jonathan my heire and to his
 said Goods and Chattels that shall be remain
 four children namely Jonathan Peregrine
 my wife Enjoy that part of y^e Dwelling house to
 one third of y^e rents and profits of y^e lands
 y^e term of her Natural life And lastly I be
 Son Daniel joynt Executors of this my last
 Neighbours Samuel Sprague Senior and
 advising my wife to such methods as may be
 In Testimony whereof and in Confirmation of y^e
 my hand and Seal on y^e day and year above
 - by one painted chair and a Cushion
 Signed Sealed and Acknowledged

In y^e presence of
 Sam^l Sprague
 Thomas Dogget
 Mary M Joyce
 Rev^d mark

Memorant to
 Aug 1704 The
 Mary Joyce
 while she lived
 to be his last
 will and when he

Recorded in the 2^d book of wills &
 Inventories at Page 48 of M Thomas
 Register

of my I Give and bequeath to Sarah my Wellbeloved wife all
of by this my Will the same to be for her support and Comfort.
Item I having already by deed under my hand and Seal made the
my Eldest Son Daniel White my Tenement or Home lot with other
mansehold with y^e excursions and reservations therein mentioned
her Confirm unto him according to y^e true meaning of y^e said Deed
to my said Son Daniell my Great table and founnes my founworke Bod-
Son Daniel y^e one moiety or half of my lands ^{land and right of land} in y^e Township of
eration thereof to the said Daniel ~~Deed~~ for the use of my said wife
of my said wife Item I having Enjoyed y^e said Daniel to pay unto my
sum of Ten pounds as in y^e above written Deed is mentioned. It is
by him be duly paid to them out of his Estate according to y^e meaning
the other moiety or half my land and rights of land in y^e Township
and pertainence to be Equally parted betwixen them I further Give
to his Eldest Son I Give my living Item it is my will that all my
my wife her daughter & Equally parted betwixen my
ine, Sarah and morey And further it is my will that Sarah
ought that I now live in and Enjoy And I hereby Give her the
lands Contained in y^e above written Deed to hold to her during
I hereby nominate and appoint my said wife and my said Eldest
y^e last Will and Testament And do request my Good friends and
and John Hogget to be overseers thereof and be helpfull in y^e
may conduce to her comfortable subsistence while she lives
n of y^e promises of y^e said pertainence while have her unto set
or above written. Item before sealing I Give to each of my Daugh

the next of pertainence
white

nt That on the 17th day of
The afore named Samuel Sprague Thomas Hogget
Jorge made oath that the above named Perrierson
signature seal. I Declare the above written Instrument
Last Will & Testament of the deceased of my deceasing
them to so did before me
Nathaniel Thomas Judge of Probate

Each of them y^e sum of Ten Pounds as in y^e above Recited deed is mentioned. It is my Will that what is behind and unpaid by him be duly paid to them out of his Estate according to y^e meaning of y^e said Deed. Item I Give and Bequeath the other moiety or half my land and Rights of land in y^e Township of Middleborough to my two sons Jonathan and Peregrine to be Equally parted betweene them I further Give to my said Son Jonathan my Rapier and to his Eldest Son I Give my Gun. Item it is my will that all my said Goods and Chattels that shall be remaining at my wife her decease be Equally parted betweene my four children namely Jonathan Peregrine Sarah and Mercy And further it is my will that Sarah my wife Enjoy that part of y^e Dwelling house that I now live in and Enjoy And I hereby Give her the one third of y^e Rents and Profits of y^e lands Contayned in y^e above Recited Deed to hold to her during y^e term of her Naturall life And Lastly I hereby nominate and Appoint my said wife and my said Eldest Son Daniel joynt Executors of this my last Will and Testament And do Request my Good friends and Neighbours Samuel Sprague Senior and John Dogget to be overseers thereof and be helpfull in y^e advising my wife to such methods as may Conduce to her Comfortable Subsistance while she lives In Testimony whereof and in Confirmation of y^e premises I y^e said Peregrine White have hereunto set my hand and Seal on y^e day and year above written. Item before sealing I Give to Each of my sd daughters one painted chair and a Cushion

Signed Sealed and Declared

In y^e Presence of

SAM^l SPRAGUE

THOMAS DOGGET

MARY M JOYCE

her mark

P. W.

The Mark of Peregrine White

Memorand that on the 14th day of Aug^r 1704 the afore-named Samuel Sprague Thomas Doggett & Mary Joyce made oath that the above named Perregreen White did signe seale & Declare the above written Instrument to be his last Will & Testament & that he was of Disposing mind when he so did.

before me

NATHANIEL THOMAS, *Judge of Probate*

Recorded in the 2^d booke of wills &

Inventorys &c. Page 48

p N THOMAS

Register

[Indorsed "The will of Peregrien White Exhibited Aug^r 14 1704. Recorded page 48." Also, "The Will of M^r Peregrine White."]

Mr. A. B. ELLIS read a paper on the portraits of Washington which are said to have been painted by the artist Sharpless. He remarked that with their arrival in this country for exhibition and disposal, interest was again revived in their history. The portraits consist of two of Washington — one a full face and in military costume, and the other in profile — and one of Martha in profile. The full-face portrait was exhibited in New York in 1854, and was much admired. In 1882 all three were exhibited in this country, — among other places at the Art Museum in Boston.

Mr. Ellis then referred to the visit of the artist to this country in 1794, an account of which is contained in a recently published volume, entitled "Memorials of Washington, and of Mary his Mother, and Martha his Wife," by Major James Walter (who is also the author of "Shakespeare's Home and Rural Life"), in which we are told that Sharpless was commissioned by one Robert Cary, of the firm of Cary & Co., who were mercantile agents for Washington in London, to execute a likeness of Washington. For this purpose, according to Walter, Sharpless visited Mount Vernon, and then secured sittings from Washington.

Major James Walter, from England, who was present at the meeting by permission, as the custodian of the paintings of George Washington and Martha his wife, attributed to Sharpless, made a statement in regard to them. After some discussion among the members, it was voted that a committee, consisting of Messrs. Francis Parkman, A. B. Ellis, A. C. Goodell, and Edward Bangs, examine and report what in their opinion is the historical value of these pictures.

Mr. GOODELL called attention to the fifth volume of the new edition of the Laws of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, 1769-1780, which had been given to the Library since the last meeting. As one of the commissioners appointed to prepare these laws for publication, he said that the historical importance of the acts passed during the Revolutionary period seemed to require that nothing accessible should be omitted which would throw light upon the history of each act, the motives which prompted it, its operation and contemporaneous con-

struction ; and that this explains why the larger part of the present volume consists of notes.

Mr. C. C. SMITH presented a memoir of the Hon. John J. Babson.

MEMOIR
OF THE
HON. JOHN J. BABSON.

BY CHARLES C. SMITH.

JOHN JAMES BABSON, the third child and eldest son of William and Mary [Griffin] Babson, was born in Gloucester, June 15, 1809, and died in that city, April 13, 1886, the last survivor of seven children. On his mother's side he traced his descent back to one of the early settlers at Annisquam, on the northern shore of Cape Ann. On his father's side his earliest American ancestor was Isabel Babson, a widow, who was at Salem in 1637, but soon afterward went to Gloucester, with her son James. There she had several grants of land, and she also purchased an estate in what is now the business centre of the city. The title to a portion of this estate remained in the family for about a century and a half. The son settled on the outskirts of the village, not far from the place where his descendant built a house more than two centuries afterward, and passed the later years of his life.

As a boy the subject of this Memoir enjoyed only the advantages which the public schools of his native town then afforded; and at the age of fourteen he entered the store of his father, then and until his death, in 1848, an enterprising and prosperous merchant, engaged in both domestic and foreign trade. There the boy had abundant leisure for reading, which he turned to the best uses; and there he acquired or strengthened the marked taste for study and historical investigations which he never lost. Before he had reached the age of twenty-one, he was appointed a member of a committee to procure subscribers for the Gloucester Lyceum, an institution designed to promote the diffusion of useful knowledge and the intellectual advancement of the community by means of lectures and debates; and a few years later, in December, 1832, he gave a lecture before it on "Early Maritime Discoveries." In March,

1832, he was elected Recording Secretary. This office he held for three years. Subsequently he filled other offices in connection with the Lyceum, and from 1870 until his death he was a member of the Board of Directors, and for the last five years President. In the mean time the change in the public taste and the growth of the community led to an abandonment of the original plan of the Lyceum, which, adapting itself to new needs, became the nucleus of a public library. On its endowment and the creation of a Board of Trustees, Mr. Babson was elected Chairman of the Board, and this office also he filled until his death.

From 1836 to 1855 he was cashier of the Gloucester Bank. In the latter year he withdrew from active business, though he was afterward for eight years, from 1862 to 1870, one of the directors of another banking institution, now known as the Cape Ann National Bank. His retirement from business gave him greater leisure for congenial literary pursuits and for serving his fellow-citizens in various ways. At several periods, beginning so far back as 1834 and ending with 1880, he was a member of the School Committee, his whole term of service covering thirty years; and for a large part of the time he was Chairman of the Board. In addition to a strict and faithful discharge of the duties of a school-committeeman under the old system, he acted as Superintendent of Schools in 1855 and 1856, and again from 1862 to 1870. "I have examined," he wrote in his Annual Report in April, 1867, "all the classes in all the Grammar Schools in nearly all the studies." Substantially the same statement occurs in other reports. "Thoroughly devoted to the cause of education," says one who was a teacher while he was connected with the schools, "he worked with such singleness of purpose, such persistent energy, that he revolutionized the school system; and for his labors in this direction Gloucester owes him an incalculable and increasing debt." To this she adds: "He was the friend and confidant of teacher and pupil alike. Fortunate, indeed, is the young teacher who, on entering a new and untried sphere, finds so wise and gentle a counsellor, so true and staunch a friend, so judicious and discriminating a critic."¹ It was under his administration that the old school-district system, which had long

¹ Boston Evening Transcript, April 20, 1886.

outlived its usefulness and the needs of the community, was abolished, and the graded system substituted in its place.

In 1859 he served as one of the Selectmen of the town. For five years (1859, 1860, and 1875-1877) he was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and for two years (1861 and 1862) a member of the Senate. As a legislator, he seems to have taken little or no part in the debates and to have confined himself to an unobtrusive and painstaking discharge of his duties as a member of either branch or of the various committees on which he served. His political sentiments were in full accord with those of the party then dominant in Massachusetts, though he was never an extreme partisan.

In February, 1864, he was appointed one of the Bank Commissioners. For this office he was especially qualified by his long experience as a bank manager; and he continued to discharge its duties until December, 1865, when the office was abolished, in consequence of the establishment of the national bank system. At that time there was only one bank in Massachusetts doing business under a charter derived from the State; and in the final report of the Board, Mr. Babson gave a full and careful history of currency and the banking system in Massachusetts, from the earliest period down to the passage of the national bank law and the reorganization of the State banks under the new system. This monograph was an important contribution to the literature of the subject, and shows how well and how thoroughly Mr. Babson was accustomed to do his work.

Five or six years before this, — in 1860, — he had given to the press his most important work, that on which his reputation as an historical scholar must chiefly rest, — his "History of the Town of Gloucester, Cape Ann, including the Town of Rockport." It was an octavo volume of upward of six hundred pages, almost wholly devoted to the history of the two towns, and was among the earliest of the better class of town histories. In the preparation of this work he showed unwearied diligence, and on it he bestowed the most careful and conscientious labor. Its plan and execution were alike praiseworthy; and it is not likely to be superseded by the labors of any future writer on the subject. In the history of his native town and everything connected with it, he never lost interest;

and in 1876 he published a quarto volume of "Notes and Additions," extending to nearly a hundred pages, which had already appeared in one of the local newspapers. When struck with his fatal illness, he had nearly completed the preparation of a new and carefully revised edition of the History.

The great merit of his "History of Gloucester" at once attracted notice; and he was chosen a member of this Society at the meeting in November, 1860. Circumstances rendered his attendance at the meetings irregular, and he made no contributions to our printed volumes. But at the Annual Meeting in 1879 he laid on the table a very large scrap-book in which he had written the following inscription: "This Volume is composed of articles relating to the part borne by Gloucester in the War of the Rebellion, taken from a file of the Cape Ann Advertiser, a weekly newspaper published in Gloucester. Prepared for the Massachusetts Historical Society, and presented by John J. Babson, a member of the Society." It covers the whole period of the war, from the first alarm in the early spring of 1861 down to the disbandment of the army in the summer of 1865, and was a valuable addition to our priceless collection of Rebellion literature, now one of the largest and most valuable in the country.

In the early summer of 1871 Mr. Babson went abroad with his wife, visiting Scotland, the east coast of England, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, France, and the centre and southwest of England, reaching home in November. While abroad he was specially interested in matters connected with the fisheries and the early settlers of his native town. He spent some time at the important fishing-port of Wick, in the extreme northeast corner of Scotland, whither he went to make investigations relative to the Scottish fisheries. The visit proved to be a very pleasant one, and was in all respects satisfactory. He also visited the old cities of Gloucester and Bristol, to seek for traces of early settlers of Massachusetts who were supposed to have come from that part of England; but his inquiries failed of their object. His own family name was entirely unknown there, though tradition pointed to Bristol as the place from which his ancestors had come. With comparatively few exceptions, the first settlers of New England did not belong to families famous in the mother country. It is here their best record is to be found.

In the early part of 1876, on occasion of the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, Mr. Babson prepared and published a short historical account of "The Fisheries of Gloucester, from the first Catch by the English in 1623, to the Centennial Year 1876." This is a very interesting and valuable monograph, embodying much information not to be found elsewhere; and though it was written merely to meet a temporary demand, it everywhere shows a thorough familiarity with the subject, and habits of wide and careful research. The style is clear, simple, and direct; and the pamphlet well merits republication in a more attractive form, and with the omission of some matters not directly connected with its main subject. It must always remain the highest authority on the history of the Gloucester fisheries.

To the "Standard History of Essex County," published in 1878, he contributed the chapters on Gloucester and Rockport. These contain a very good account of the topography of the two places and a condensed summary of their history, based not only on his own earlier labors, but embodying also the results of continued research. They are not a mere abridgment of his larger work, but bring the narrative down to a period about twenty years later, and are sufficiently full for the wants of the general reader. It is matter for regret, however, that they were very carelessly printed, and it does not seem possible that the proof-sheets could have been seen by the writer.

Mr. Babson's interest was not confined to education and historical investigations. He was not infrequently called on to preside at public meetings; and at the dedication of the Collins Schoolhouse in 1864, and at the dedication of the Sawyer Free Library building in 1884, he delivered addresses, both of which were printed. He was also for several years President of the Cape Ann Horticultural Society, for some years one of the Trustees of the Essex Agricultural Society, and a member of the Essex Institute and of the New England Historic, Genealogical Society.

He was twice married. By his first wife, Mary Coffin Rogers, daughter of Timothy and Clarissa [Coffin] Rogers, to whom he was married June 17, 1832, and who died Dec. 5, 1842, he had a son and a daughter who died young, and two sons who survive. His second wife, to whom he was married

June 14, 1851, was Ann, daughter of Alphonso and Lucy [Stratton] Mason. By her he had one son, who also survives. His own death was the result of a paralytic attack in January, 1886, from which he only partially recovered.

Mr. Babson was a fine example of the character developed by the Anglo-Saxon race under the modifying influence of American institutions and American modes of life. He had a sturdy conscientiousness which always held him true to his principles and convictions. He never thrust himself forward as an aspirant for office, or to promote personal or partisan ends; but he was in the best sense of the term a public-spirited citizen, and never shunned the trusts which the public confidence imposed on him. He was patient and persevering in research, not hasty in his judgments, calm and moderate in the expression of his opinions, and the master of a clear and vigorous style. His intellectual growth and development were almost wholly the fruit of self-culture; but they furnish impressive illustrations of the native energy of the race from which he was derived, and of the wise use of every opportunity for self-education and unobtrusive public service. As a citizen his worth was attested during his life by many years of various and disinterested labors in behalf of the growing community, and at his death by concurrent votes of the two branches of the City Government, giving expression to the sense of public loss. In his domestic and social relations he left only pleasant and gracious memories.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1886.

THE meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, and Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS presided.

The Recording Secretary read his account of the last meeting.

The Librarian made his monthly report.

The Corresponding Secretary mentioned that Senator Hoar and Professor Johnston had accepted membership.

The PRESIDENT then said : —

It was rather with feelings of relief than of regret, that we heard, on the twenty-first of the last month, of the release from life of our honored associate Charles Francis Adams, for forty-five years a member of this Society, and for twelve years one of our Vice-Presidents. A brain overtaxed in the very highest tasks of public service in the crisis of our national struggle had prostrated his intellectual powers through the last five years. He was indeed one of the most honored and lingering of the veterans of our civil strife. No minister in the cabinet, no general in the field, performed a more exacting or a more effective service in leading on to triumph our imperilled cause. The exalted tributes of gratitude and veneration called forth from our whole country by his death, with the historical references and reminders accompanying them, have made the occasion in many respects like one of the centennial observances of great events in the century of our national life. The three generations of Adams span that whole term of years with unblemished virtues of character and the loftiest services of patriotism. For nearly a score of years the three were in life together. Those of us who were present at the severely simple services of the funeral, in the ancestral parish church in Quincy, had before us impressive memorials such as no parade of observance could have furnished. Grandsire and sire seemed to have part in the obsequies of the form lying in hushed repose. The monumental tablets and the busts of the

two Presidents welcomed the bearer of their name and honors to their higher fellowship.

It will be for those who, with appreciation and fidelity, discharge the work of biography for Mr. Adams to apply the balances of estimate and criticism to his political career, his party relations, and his official services in his own country. Only one single abating qualification has found utterance in the fulness of the tributes to his rigidly elevated character called forth by his death; but this one qualification of full-hearted and admiring eulogiums has been so repeated and emphasized as to demand a passing notice. We are told that his bearing and demeanor, his close reserve, his personal elevation and dignity, his lack of the genial and winning attractiveness of word and manner, always helpful, but sometimes exercised where nobler qualities are wanting,—or, to express the whole deficiency as popularly defined, his lack of “personal magnetism”—greatly limited the range and measure of his public appreciation. Those who were so affected by his bearing are free to avow it. Others, who were not repelled by it, will recognize its protective and neutralizing power against some of the less manly and honorable wiles of political life. There are two poles of “magnetism,” and the repelling pole is often as needful and as serviceable as the attracting pole.

But this is to be said, and said with strength of word and thought,—the personal qualities of bearing and demeanor, of reserve and dignity, of calm self-command and of iron firmness, which may have limited one form of popularity for him here, were the foremost and the most effective qualities to meet the severe demands of the anxious crisis in our public affairs at the time of his diplomatic mission to England. As we pass through our minds the names of politicians and statesmen of that date who might have been sent on that mission, there is a seeming accord in the judgment, of course fortified by the trial and the result, that only such a man as Mr. Adams, in ability, aptitude, attainments, discretion, and temperament,—in fact, only he himself answered to the needs of his country. His inherited ancestral traits—and all of us seated here well know what they were, and it is pleasing to us to add, still are—had in two previous generations found occasions for their exercise near the Court of St. James. If nobility takes its significance from ancestral dignities and adds weight to official

position, we were well represented among peers. He went on that high errand weighed by the burden of its tremendous responsibilities. He felt it as it tasked all the full and rich resources of his knowledge, statesmanship, and patriotism. He felt it religiously, for a sentiment of the profoundest reverence was also in his inheritance and his character. He asked of the minister of the First Church in Boston, where he worshipped, that in the parting Sunday service there might be used the devout hymn of Dr. Johnson, — a favorite invocation with him, used also at his funeral, —

“O Thou whose power o’er moving worlds presides!”

We recall the irritations and provocations of the hostility and duplicity of some of the governing powers of England — as they seemed, at that time, to be waiting for and ready to welcome the humiliation of our country — only that we may deepen our sense of obligation to him who so ably and grandly met the responsibilities of the crisis, through impediments, slights, and supercilious recognitions. To circumvent the plottings and stratagems of the most insidious foes of his country, and to hold a vacillating and double-minded foreign government to its treaty covenants, engaged his keen watchfulness alike upon shipyard and harbor and upon informal official intercourse with rival diplomats. All was conditioned upon his penetration, his self-command, his reserve of feeling, his discretion of utterance, and his conscience of simple duty in himself and in those with whom he had to deal. His diplomatic correspondence is the legacy which carries with it his pure and grateful memorial.

We have noticed, in the comments on his character and mission in some English journals, expressions of regret for some incidents in his treatment. Indeed, the word *remorse* is used in one of those papers. So let it stand. It is a good word when there is occasion for its use. But let our closing word of him be that of homage and esteem for an upright and gifted man, intrusted with a vast responsibility and found equal to it.

The Hon. E. R. HOAR, being called upon, spoke as follows :

I do not know that I can add anything to the impressive tribute which you, Mr. President, have rendered to the char-

acter of our deceased member. But the death of Mr. Adams has revived some memories which have to me so strong a personal interest that I may be pardoned for referring to them on this occasion.

When I had just started in my profession as a lawyer, one of my college classmates, of limited means, who had also adopted the legal profession, was allowed to occupy two rooms in an old low-studded building, at No. 23 Court Street, which belonged to John Quincy Adams. The rooms purported to be the law office of Charles Francis Adams; and the inner one was occasionally, but infrequently, used by his father for the transaction of his private business. I could never see any signs that Mr. C. F. Adams had any employment as a lawyer, and he did not go to his office with any regularity. It was there that I first made his acquaintance, and had the honor of an introduction to the ex-President.

The first occasion which brought me any nearer to Mr. Adams than the slight acquaintance derived from these casual meetings was when, as a member of the Senate of Massachusetts in 1845, he made a report to the Legislature on the expulsion of my father from Charleston, South Carolina, which was the only adequate notice of that event taken by the Commonwealth. From that time till his death I always regarded him with confidence and respect.

It was in the years from 1845 to 1848, when the division arose in the Whig party upon the questions of slavery, the Mexican war, and the annexation of Texas, — first recognized in the popular phrase of "Conscience and Cotton Whigs," and afterward in the organization of the Free Soil party, — that a little company used to gather in that Court Street office, of which, as I remember it, I am now the sole survivor. It consisted of Mr. Adams, Charles Allen of Worcester, Dr. Samuel G. Howe, Dr. John G. Palfrey, Stephen C. Phillips of Salem, Charles Sumner, Henry Wilson, Richard H. Dana, Jr., and myself. These are all that I now recall; and we held a great many meetings for consultation on public affairs, with the apparent determination of every person there to do what could be done in support of our views, irrespective of any personal consequence to ourselves or our prospects in life. Mr. Adams in these meetings devoted himself to the common object with an entire singleness of purpose which was to me

surprising and admirable. A man of leisure, of fortune, a scholar, well on the way to the prizes of public life, he not only disregarded his own apparent interests of ambition, but gave himself to any species of work most cheerfully. He even established a special newspaper, which he conducted not only with persistent drudgery, but at great expense. He was not a popular orator himself, but in that movement he was ready to pay the expenses of other men who were,—of Henry Wilson, or Charles Sumner, or of any one who could not so well afford the cost as he. He has sometimes had the reputation of being over-careful in the expenditure of money; but I know that he could spend it liberally, without ostentation but without stint, for an object that he approved.

No man was more to be trusted and steady in purpose than he. He presented to every duty, danger, or disaster the "*justum et tenacem propositi virum*." He had none of the passion which characterized his father, and to an even greater extent his grandfather. He was not calculated to be the leader of a revolutionary party; but as an adviser, counselor, never wavering in adherence to what he had resolved should be done, few men of his time, while the anti-slavery contest lasted, gave to it a more vital support; and this because he brought to it, what popular orators and excited reformers did not always, and some of them signally failed to bring,—a belief in American methods, legal and constitutional. He believed American institutions adequate to all American ends. A patriot and an ardent American, his first desire was to make his country honorably distinguished among the nations of the earth, and to remove the stigma which was the worst blot upon her fair fame.

He carried the ancestral traits which he inherited, as he did the ancestral lineaments, visible to the eyes of all the world. He was a Puritan, in all that Macaulay's description of the second man in that composite character requires,—he was "proud, calm, inflexible, sagacious." Whether history will estimate him as the equal of his father or grandfather in the point of capacity or achievement, it is not for me to say. They had some qualities, perhaps, as they had opportunities, which he had not.

But for great public services—the services which you, Mr. President, have so admirably set forth—rendered in a conspicuous post at a time of his country's peril, as well as for his

early and constant choice of the side of justice and freedom in the great controversy upon whose issue the destiny of America depended, I think he has well maintained the fame of his illustrious race, and is entitled to recognition as among the foremost men of the time, by this Society, by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and by the Nation.

The Hon. JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL followed with these words:—

The leading traits of our late associate's character were so emphatic that one cannot hope to say anything of him which has not been said by those who have spoken before, or which shall not forestall those who are waiting to speak. Even had he not been a member and an officer of this body, it would have been eminently fitting that our Society should do honor to the memory of one who represented a family so truly historical, and which had so largely shared, himself not least, in the making of that history which it is our function to record. It would be hard to find another instance of hereditary qualities so strongly marked and handed down without impair, as from the first to the second, and from the second to the third Adams. That two of them should have been Presidents of the United States, that all three should have represented their country in its most important embassy, is remarkable, because it is an example, not of fortune, but of fitness. Few royal races can furnish a parallel to this transmitted virtue; and this race was truly royal in the Homeric sense,—shepherds of the people, fitted to lead and to ward by their courage, their wisdom, and their cogent sense of duty.

The late Mr. Charles Francis Adams was, in my judgment, second only to his grandfather in the service which it was his privilege to do for the Republic. I shall not speak of the sacrifices he made in behalf of anti-slavery, for these were the natural outcome of his character; nor of the leading part he took in the formation of the Free Soil party, for this was to be expected from his family traditions, which required of him that he should subordinate party to principle. I shall say a few words concerning his diplomatic services. Cradled in diplomacy, never was a man more fitted by character, by experience, by natural sagacity, and by attainments for the position it was his good fortune to occupy during our Civil War, and which it was still more our good fortune that he should have occupied.

When he arrived in London, he found nearly all the England with which an ambassador is brought into contact either actively or passively hostile, not so much to the people as to the cause he represented. For it was felt instinctively that this quarrel of ours was not about State Rights or Slavery, but between Democracy and that older Order of Things represented here by the system of human bondage. It was a war between America and Europe in fact, though not in form. Mr. Adams was treated with civility, indeed, but with chilling civility. He was made to feel at every turn that he represented a contingency, not a country. A man less self-centred or of less resource would have found the situation intolerably painful. It tried even him severely, but only to demonstrate more clearly of what oaken fibre he was made. Of a temper naturally impetuous, he was never provoked into indiscretion, or thrown off his guard by any temptation of immediate advantage. How often must his calm have been that of suppressed passion! I remember once saying to the late Mr. Moran, his Secretary of Legation, that they greatly misconceived Mr. Adams who thought him a cold man. "Cold!" he answered; "nobody that had ever seen the Northern Lights streaming up over that polished bald head of his so often as I have, would have called him so." None of our generals in the field, not Grant himself, did us better or more trying service than he in his forlorn outpost of London. Cavour did hardly more for Italy.

"Peace hath her victories
Not less renowned than war."

Though it was harder for him than for most men to be circumspect and prudent, he was both where his country was concerned. He never made a false step, or withdrew the foot once insupportably advanced. The late Lord Houghton told me that Mr. Adams was visiting him at Fryston when the news came of the capture of the "Trent." They had driven over to look at some ruin in the neighborhood. While taking their lunch, a horseman bloody with spurring, fiery-hot with haste, brought a telegram from the Legation to Mr. Adams, giving him the intelligence. "I'll drive you to the nearest station," said Lord Houghton, "and you can take the next train for London. Your luggage shall be sent after you." "But I have no intention of going to London," said Mr. Adams, quietly. "No intention of going to London!" "No; I shan't

let myself be seen there till I hear that a despatch has arrived from Washington." Fortunately there was no cable then, and there was always time for deliberate afterthought. But that Mr. Adams could be promptly decided when it was wise, and could take responsibility when it was necessary, he showed plainly enough in his note to Earl Russell in the affair of the Confederate rams.

After four years of arduous and ungrateful service he had his reward, as high character is sure to have. Englishmen are always ready to acknowledge in others the qualities they most value in themselves. They had found in him assurance of a Man, and were not slow in showing it. During the official years that remained to him, he was the centre of a universal respect, and enjoyed the honor and the troops of friends which success is never slow to bring. His country shared in the deference that was paid to her representative. But his great services had been remote from the scene of engrossing action; they had been unobtrusive, and his modesty or pride, which shunned all advertisement, kept them so. It was only at home that they failed of that universal recognition which so many marvels of the moment found it easy to win ere they flickered and went out forever. He was blamed for refusing a public reception in Faneuil Hall on his return from England, but, I think, unjustly. He naturally shrank from a demonstration which politicians whom he did not respect would have turned to their own advantage, and where eulogy to be acceptable must be mutual.¹

¹ Mr. Adams was not insensible to the applause of his countrymen, though scrupulous to shun even the appearance of courting it. I think the following verses worth printing here only because I know that they gave him pleasure. They are all that have survived of a versified speech recited at the first Commencement dinner after his return from England. What the context may have been I cannot now divine. I am indebted for a copy of them to the kindness of Mrs. Adams.

Had Adams stayed, this danger had not been,
This less than kindness 'twixt the more than kin;
He never wandered in the flowery way
That tempts to prattle most where least 's to say;
No phrase misspent, no reasoning loose of joint,
Justus et tenax, swerveless from his point,
Large of discourse where wisdom might be large,
Penurious where a word might harm his charge,
He served and suffered; but he won at last,
Praised by the brawny athletes he had cast;
Third of a stalwart race, to him is due
As ample meed as to the elder two;
Behold, they brighten from the canvas dim
To hear their praise renewed in praise of him!

There were some of us who hoped that he might have been nominated for the Presidency in 1876, and that a third Adams might have been elected in the Centennial year of that independence which the first so greatly helped to prepare for and to win. But he would not condescend even to the more innocent devices of candidacy, — not Coriolanus himself more contemptuous of them.

If we may not call him a great man, we cannot deny him many of the more important qualities of greatness. Now that he is gathered to his fathers, History will do him justice. She will not forget him, for she cannot. She will say of him: "The son of an illustrious father, himself the son of a father more illustrious, he was not degenerate. . . He was a man of wisdom, courage, integrity, and a lover of his country. He did great services in her behalf, and was satisfied with the silent consciousness of having done them. Perhaps his reward, if less conspicuous, is as precious as that of those by whose side he now lies, full of years and safe in honor. The victor who shunned the clamors of the Triumphal Way shall not miss the less fleeting praise of posterity."

At the close of Mr. Lowell's remarks, without formal resolution, the members of the Society, by rising, expressed their profound respect for the character and career of their late associate, and their grateful appreciation of the exalted service which he performed for the country.

The PRESIDENT then read the subjoined letter:—

GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., *President of the Massachusetts Historical Society.*

DEAR SIR,—I beg to offer for the acceptance of the Society the volumes of manuscripts named in the list herewith enclosed, the conditions to be the same as those attached to my gift of January, 1885,—namely, that these, with other documents given by me, shall be kept together and called the Parkman Collection, and that I shall have the right of taking any of them from the Library for consultation, returning the same when their purpose is answered.

Respectfully yours,

F. PARKMAN.

Boston, Dec. 9, 1886

List of Historical Documents given to the Massachusetts Historical Society by Francis Parkman, Dec. 9, 1886.

Nine volumes relating to the Conspiracy of Pontiac, namely: —

One volume of documents from the State Paper Office.

One volume of documents from the Archives of Paris.

Two volumes of documents from the British Museum.

One volume of journals from various sources.

Four volumes of papers from public and private collections in various parts of England and America.

One volume entitled "Canada, Church and State," consisting of papers chiefly from the collection of the late Abbé Ferland, of Quebec.

One volume entitled "Documents sur le Canada," consisting of papers from the Archives Nationales, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and other French sources.

One volume entitled "Voyage au Canada, 1751-1761," being a copy of a manuscript book lately acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale.

One volume entitled "Seven Letters of Menendez," being the despatches sent by Pero Menendez to Philip II., in 1565 and 1566, in relation to the massacre of the Huguenots in Florida. They are accompanied by a translation.

A committee, consisting of Messrs. Winsor, Haynes, and Channing, was appointed to report what suitable acknowledgment should be made to Mr. Parkman.

Professor A. V. G. Allen, D.D., of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The Committee on the so-called Sharpless portraits of Washington asked for further time in which to make their report.

Dr. EVERETT said: —

I rise, Mr. President, to present — what is always more or less an ungracious task — the criticism of an Honorary Associate. There has recently been published a volume of "Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History," by our very eminent colleague Bishop Stubbs. He has acquired distinction as an historian which it would be very indecent for me to contest;

but I feel that in these lectures he has allowed himself to speak of men in whose reputation we are concerned as sons in a way unbecoming himself or them, and against which it is our duty to offer a courteous remonstrance.

Bishop Stubbs, as an historian, belongs to a school which perhaps I do not appreciate as I ought. He is remarkable for making great reference to original documents, and for speaking to historical scholars who are competent to draw the proper inferences from them. He apparently shrinks from undertaking to be an interpreter, or to expound history to those to whom the original data seem to require reading between the lines. These very lectures—delivered, under the statutory obligations of an Oxford professorship, to the public and not to his pupils—were avowedly a very disagreeable and perfunctory piece of work, not at all the sort of thing which he thinks it profitable for a professor of history to do; so it appears, at least, if I understand him correctly. But I never feel that I do understand him correctly. Whenever I read Bishop Stubbs his learning overpowers me. I dare not contest views based on such an array of contemporary records; yet I never lose an uneasy feeling that if I were equally learned, I could produce more weighty if not so numerous testimonies for a totally different view. I feel dazzled rather than enlightened; and I am not certain that I am not misled, or at least that I am not going astray from the ostentatious avoidance of direction.

In one of these lectures Bishop Stubbs dwells at length on the duty of throwing aside a partisan spirit in setting out facts; and he believes this is possible, even where the historian is himself a partisan. I quote at some length from him in order to illustrate my point (pages 108–110):—

“It seems as if no one has the spirit to undertake it [popular-history writing] unless he is stirred by something stronger than the desire of being useful, the desire of ventilating some party view or destroying the character of some partisan opposed to him.” A couple of confessedly extreme instances are given, and he proceeds: “The infection is not confined to coarse and vulgar minds; it defiles some of the very noblest works, especially historical works, that have ever been written. How can we recommend the man who wants to get up the rights of a case to a history like Macaulay’s? How easy must have been the victory of Macaulay’s hero if all his adversaries were the pitiful knaves

and fools that they appear to him to have been! I am not calling him a slanderer, — I do not believe that he was one, — or ignorant or careless, for he was most learned and accurate; nor insincere, for he was most sincere; but for all that he was as much a party writer as Clarendon, or Prynne, or Burnet, or Collier. . . . For my own part, I do not see why an honest partisan should not write an honest book if he can persuade himself to look honestly at his subject and make allowance for his own prejudices. I know it is somewhat critical work, and a man who knows himself one way may be quite ignorant of himself in another. I take Hallam as an illustrious example. Hallam knew himself to be a political partisan, and wherever he knew that political prejudice might darken his counsel, he guarded most carefully against it: he did not claim the judicial character without fitting himself for it; and where he knew himself to be sitting as judge he judged admirably, — so admirably that the advanced advocates even of his own views have long ago thrown him over, as too timid and temporizing for their purpose. Yet where he was not awake to his own prejudice in matters, — for instance, regarding religion and the Church, in which he seems to have had no doubt about his own infallibility of negation, — how ludicrously and transparently unfair he is!

"I do not see any necessity for this. I do not see why a man should not say once for all: 'I like Charles I. better than Oliver Cromwell; I like the Cause for which Charles believed himself to be contending better than that for which Cromwell strove. Charles is attractive to me, Oliver is repulsive; Charles is my friend, Oliver is my foe; but am I bound to maintain that my friend is always right and my enemy always wrong; am I bound to hold Charles for a saint, Oliver for a monster; am I bound never to mention Charles without a sigh, Oliver without a sneer; am I bound to conceal the faults of the one and to believe every calumny against the other?' If you like, put it the other way, — believe in the great Protestant statesman; treat Charles as the overrated fine gentleman, the narrow-minded advocate of a theory which he did not understand, the pig-headed maintainer of the cause you dislike. You may be a partisan, but can you not believe that if you believe your own side of the question, truth, when it is explored, will be found on your side? Misrepresentation, exaggeration, dishonesty of advocacy, will only disparage the presentment which you desire to make of your own convictions and your own prepossessions."

I could continue the quotation; but I have given enough to show how very strong is Bishop Stubbs's appeal for an ingenuous, candid method of handling those periods of history where party views are likely to be aroused. Every one will admire it. It may seem to some to demand almost unnatural self-

control ; but many persons will thoroughly accept what is said about Macaulay. Hallam is more generally considered an impartial writer ; but Bishop Stubbs is by no means the first who has censured him for a partisan view of ecclesiastical history. Let us accept to the full the Bishop's canons of non-partisan writing, and let us see how he carries them out.

The thirteenth lecture is on an eminently abstruse subject, the History of the Canon Law in England. The author proceeds evenly enough, one might perhaps say tamely, till he comes to the reign of Elizabeth and her ecclesiastical legislation, and then we have these sentences : " To the true theologians, whether Catholic or Puritan, the whole was repulsive : we see this in the half-hearted, almost despairing adhesion of Archbishop Parker, and in the strong and justifiable protests of the Puritans ; and I mention them with respect here, because this opposition to unconstitutional tyranny is the only point in which I have any sympathy with them. Their tenets I hold to be untenable," — a remarkable selection of words, — " and their methods of promoting them by calumny, detraction, and coarse ribaldry I think entirely detestable ; but I do think they were right in denouncing the High Commission and all its works." Passing over about a page, which is strictly narrative, we have : " James failed to secure co-operation between the House of Commons and the Convocation, or the bishops and the Puritan divines. But this is no wonder. A House of Commons which could listen to Sir Herbert Crofts declaring that the church had declined ever since doctors began to wear boots ; or could expel Mr. Sheppard, M.P. for Shaftesbury, for explaining that ' dies Sabbati ' meant not the Sabaoth as they called it, but Saturday, and suggesting that as David danced before the Ark, the legality of dancing was a question on which the bishops might decide before it was altogether forbidden, — such a House of Commons was not likely to impress men like Hooker or Andrewes with respect, or King James either. It is clear, I think, that if the Puritan party had been well represented at the Hampton Court conference, James would have seen justice done to them ; but he saw their intolerance and their frivolity, and the balance remained undressed." Finally, with reference to the burning of Legate and his fellow Arian by Bishops King and Neill, he says : " The heretics who were burned were men whom the Puritans did

not care to defend ; they would have burned them as willingly as they would have done the bishops."

I have quoted these passages continuously ; the omissions do not, I think, affect the question of partisanship, which is the object of this paper.

It seems hardly necessary to add anything to these extracts themselves if we would prove that Bishop Stubbs disregards his own rules for impartiality as much as any writer that he has criticised. When we think of the position which the Puritans occupied first in England, and afterwards in America as well, for a century ; when we consider what they aimed at, and what they achieved ; when we set them against their opponents, — leaders against leaders, battalia against battalia, and camp followers against camp followers, — it must seem to us a strange inability to recognize merit in those whose views we dislike, that can pronounce that the party of Milton had no merit above the party of Clarendon except their opposition to the High Commission. I name these two men, because, being strictly contemporaries, they represent, in the highest degree, the concentration of those qualities which commended both parties to their countrymen. Surely the party which terminated in Milton was not in all respects hateful and contemptible beside that which terminated in Clarendon.

With reference to the Hampton Court conference, it seems only necessary to read the Bishop's comments in connection with the familiar account of it, drawn up by an enemy of the Puritans, and declared by themselves to be an unfair representation. To speak of King James as exhibiting a frank and judicial temper, and showing either then or ever an aversion to frivolity, is indeed a new presentation of history. It is recorded that he and his lords paused in the midst of this solemn conference to indulge in pleasantry on the demands of the Puritans. His expressed opinions of the value of the ring in marriage are hardly those of a man looking below show to substance. His declaration, of which we in New England know the force better than Bishop Stubbs seems to, — "that he would make the Puritans conform, or harry them out of the land," — is curiously at variance with the reasonable, open temper which the Bishop discerns in him. But if Reynolds and his associates appear feeble and fanatical, is nothing to be said of the bishops who were for sweeping away his perfectly correct and now

admitted criticism on the errors of the English Bible with a wholesale denunciation of the conceit of private judgment, and of the more than Horatian adulation with which they hailed their sovereign's inspired *dicta*? It is a strange sort of non-partisan candor that finds in the scene of Hampton Court the frivolity and fanaticism of the abusive Puritans kicking the beam against the scholarship and "sweet reasonableness" of the bishops when King James is holding the balance.

Then we have a joke on the impossibility of producing any sound impression on a House of Commons who would expel a man for questioning that Sunday was the "Sabaoth." Undoubtedly it was very absurd for that house to confound *Sabbath* and *Sabaoth*; it was just as absurd in Edmund Spenser and Francis Bacon, who were not exactly Puritans, nor unimpressible by church and king. It may be doubted if a denial that Sunday was the Sabbath would have met with much indulgence in Parliaments that have sat in Bishop Stubbs's lifetime. But what a total abandonment of all sound argument! How exactly is this "the draught of the fountain of laughter" against which Macaulay cautioned us in his Essay on Milton, when we deal with the Puritans! Bishop Stubbs pays a most emphatic compliment to the virtues and learning of Dean Hook. Would he think a Puritan controversialist dealt fairly with the Dean who dealt him a hit for speaking more than once of Madam Vermigli, the wife of Pietro Martire Vermigli, as "Mrs. Martyr," evidently not having the least conception of her husband's name?

Now for the last sentence I have quoted, about the burning of Legate and his fellow Arian. The Bishop says that the Puritans would have burnt them as readily as they would the bishops. And how readily was that? Did the Puritans in England, since the name was given them, ever burn anybody? Nobody knows better than Bishop Stubbs that his predecessors Neill (if that is the way to spell it) and King had the honor of burning the last martyrs for their creed in England. If he means—what is very true—that the Puritans were not Unitarians, why not say so without hinting at a taste for fiery torture that the Puritans never showed when they took such retaliation as they thought good? In an early chapter he expresses a wish that reviewers would say, "Here we differ from the author," instead of "This is a grave error." Yet he can-

not resist the chance, by an ambiguous phrase that Gibbon might have envied, of trying to reduce the Puritans to the level of prelates whom we have little doubt he would have enjoyed ejecting as much as he would Calamy or Baxter.

We are sensitive about the Puritans in Massachusetts. We have a right to be. They have stood for ten entire generations the sharpest and most persistent criticism that nations and continents could bring to bear. Not one of their acts was done in a corner, or done for anything but what they deemed the glory of God and the honor of England, Old and New. Their courage, their foresight, their energy, their endurance, have wrung applause from many, like Hume, who hated their principles, ridiculed their manners, and shrank from their warfare as thoroughly as our author. But here we know them as perhaps none in England have known them for two centuries. We know, to use words that Bishop Stubbs loves, "that things were so ordered and settled by their endeavors, upon the best and surest foundations, that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, have been established among us;" and it has appeared to me not seemly that this thoroughly partisan attack, following on such an elaboration of non-partisan views of historical writing, should fail to meet with a protest in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The Recording Secretary read a note from Mr. W. S. Appleton, dated Hanover, in Germany, and communicating a translation of an article, from the "*Illustrierte Zeitung*," on the discovery and temporary settlement of America by the Northmen.

Mr. PARKMAN spoke of the great number of documents relating to our Revolutionary history which exist abroad, and that it would be most desirable if an index of them could be prepared. Since this work would be too great for any private individual to accomplish, he believed that the Government would undertake it if this and other historical societies would indorse it. On his motion, which was seconded by Dr. Hale, Messrs. Parkman, Chamberlain, Hale, Everett, Haynes, and Goodell were appointed to consider and report upon the subject.

Professor TORREY spoke of the judicial impartiality of Hallam, but said that a distinction must be made between the secular and the ecclesiastical parts of his history. He men-

tioned the changes which had been made in the notes in the last edition, and the author's modified estimates of churchmen, as proving that he grew mild as he grew old.

Mr. BANGS made the following remarks:—

An interesting letter has been received by me from A. M. Haines, Esq., of Galena, Illinois, about the Major-General Haynes mentioned in the last volume of the Proceedings at page 256.

It seems that General Haynes did not bear the arms ascribed to him by Guillim, which are those of the Reading, Berks, family; but used, on official documents signed by him as Governor of Jersey in 1651, the arms of the Shropshire and Dorset families of the name, viz.: Or, on a fesse gules, three bezants, and, in chief, a greyhound current, sable, collared of the second. Crest, an eagle displayed standing on a tortoise.

In his will, dated Oct. 7, 1654, he styles himself "Collonell James Heane, late Governor of Jersey," and speaks of "being commanded beyond the Seas in a service for the propagating the Gospel of Christ Jesus and weakening the power of the Pope and Antichrist and making way for the comfort of the people of God."

Mr. Haines thinks the General was not related to Governor John Haynes of New England, and adds that he erred in stating¹ that Nicholas Haynes was the grandfather of Governor John. It has not been possible to trace Governor John beyond his father John.

The General was son of David Heane and Mary Hawkins, of Little Deane, Gloucestershire, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Walter, of Norfields, Gloucestershire, May 15, 1636.

Mr. Haines, who has, as he says, "been for nearly forty years engaged on both sides of the ocean in the investigation of the Haines, or Haynes, family," is sure that both he himself and our associate Professor Henry W. Haynes are of Major-General Haynes's kin, and entitled to bear the same arms.

Dr. PEABODY presented a memoir of the late Rev. Dr. S. K. Lothrop.

¹ N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg. vol. xxiv. p. 423.





S. R. Loomis

MEMOIR

OF

REV. SAMUEL KIRKLAND LOTHROP, D.D., LL.D.

BY ANDREW P. PEABODY.

JOHN HOSMER LOTHROP, a native of New Haven and a graduate of Yale College (1787), established himself in Oneida County, New York, toward the close of the last century, and shortly afterward became a citizen of Utica. Educated as a lawyer, and with abilities that would have made him eminent at the bar, he had little taste for the details of his profession, and was at different times a farmer, an editor, and for the last fifteen years of his life cashier of a bank. He was a man of high literary culture and capacity, of fine conversational powers, with a rich vein of wit and humor, and of a character that commanded equally profound respect and warm affection. He seems to have possessed a singular facility of enjoying life to the full, without ever being unmindful of the higher obligations of integrity, industry, faithfulness, and beneficence.

In 1797 he married Jerusha Kirkland, daughter of Rev. Samuel Kirkland, for many years missionary to the Indians in Oneida County, and having his home and the centre of his mission not far from Utica. He manifested, though in so widely different a sphere, endowments no less large, varied, and versatile than those which gave his son a distinguished reputation as a preacher and an educator. Mrs. Lothrop shared in full with her brother the heritage of parental gifts and graces. With the domestic virtues which made her household happy, and the benignity and kindness that won the love of all who knew her, she united qualities that fitted her for the foremost place in society which she could not but hold, and a mental vigor and vivacity that remained unimpaired till she had exceeded her threescore years and ten.

Of the eight children of this marriage, all of whom illustrated in their traits of mind and character the doctrine of heredity, the third was Samuel Kirkland Lothrop, who was born in Whitesborough, near Utica, Oct. 13, 1804. Until his thirteenth year he remained with his parents, and in his early boyhood attended several schools, of which we know little except the names of the teachers. In 1817 his uncle, Rev. Dr. Kirkland, then President of Harvard College, virtually adopted him, and assumed the charge of his education. The change of residence, if advantageous, was not at the outset agreeable. Instead of a large family, overflowing with mirth and jollity, he had his solitary room in a bachelor's house, with the most generous provision for his comfort, but with no companionship that could replace that of his home. He was for a part of the time instructed by private tutors, of whom Ralph Waldo Emerson was one, and for a little while he was at a classical school in Cambridge. Made restless, no doubt, by the frequent change of instructors, and not without marked fitnesses and proclivities for the military profession, he felt a strong desire for a West Point training; and his uncle took preliminary steps which would probably have issued in his appointment, had not the persuasion of his elder brother prevailed with him in behalf of a college education. In 1819 he was sent to Lancaster, and remained there for two years, in the family of Rev. Dr. Thayer and under the tuition of Solomon P. Miles. With the members of Dr. Thayer's family he formed intimacies always cherished and held precious, and terminated only by death; and to Mr. Miles, who is remembered with reverence and love by all his surviving pupils, he ascribed enduring influence of the highest order, which was still felt by him, in common with his fellow-students, for his first two college years,—as Mr. Miles then filled the office of college tutor, leaving the long tradition of his rare teaching power, his genial manners, and his thoroughly noble character.

Young Lothrop, returning to Cambridge with his teacher, entered the class that graduated in 1825. A change had meanwhile occurred in his uncle's family. Professor Farrar and his wife had taken up their residence with the President, and Mrs. Farrar, a daughter of Rev. Dr. Buckminster of Portsmouth, was at the head of the household. She was one

of the most lovely of women, and, having constantly with her one or more of her sisters, made the old official mansion a rallying-place for the best society of Boston and its environs. The youngest of her sisters from the first attracted Lothrop's admiration, and we might say almost his homage, less by her singularly winning grace of countenance and manner than by a character in which it was hard to tell whether sweetness or strength was predominant. She made herself necessary to his well-being by the inspiration of a soul that in very childhood had passed through the severest discipline of an educating Providence, and had been trained in the loneliness of orphanhood to noble aspiration, high endeavor, and firm religious faith and trust. She had seemed to him his own better self, before either of them contemplated the relation which subsequently gave them many years of happiness in their united life.

Though Lothrop did not distinguish himself as a scholar, his college life was for him pre-eminently a liberal education. At his uncle's house he made the acquaintance of the kinds of persons from whose intercourse a young man could derive the greatest benefit, and at the same time, while a gentleman by nature and inheritance, he obtained social culture of inestimable value. In the class-rooms he was a diligent and retentive hearer of full courses of lectures by such men as Chief Justice Parker, Drs. Bigelow, Jackson, and Warren, and Professors Farrar and Ticknor, — lectures learned, profound, and eloquent, which have been replaced, for receptive minds, by nothing so instructive and so stimulating in more recent methods. He had, too, always the faculty of imbibing, with little labor and almost unconsciously, whatever was best in books, formal discourse, or conversation.

Immediately on graduating, Mr. Lothrop entered the Cambridge Divinity School, and gave his whole mind and soul to preparation for the work which became his lifelong joy. He had for his principal teachers, on the Evidences and Doctrines of Christianity, the elder Dr. Ware, who to the best learning of his time added a fairness and impartiality that never failed to do full justice to his theological opponents; and in the Interpretation of the New Testament, Andrews Norton, who wielded the keenest scalpel of unsparing criticism with a lowly and adoring faith, and whose solemn stress on sacred

words and themes never died upon the inward ear of any one of his pupils. In the last year of his student life Mr. Lothrop was employed as an agent of the then infant American Unitarian Association, to visit various parishes in the interior of Massachusetts in order to interest them in the objects of the Association and to secure contributions to its funds. On this mission he was warmly received and seconded by the clergy, enlisted many willing helpers in the cause in which he was engaged, and gave sure prestige of his success as a preacher.

Leaving the Divinity School in the summer of 1828, he supplied the pulpit of the Unitarian church in Washington for several Sundays, and would probably have been invited to a permanent pastorate, had he encouraged the movement. But he was unwilling to live where he would be surrounded by all the wrongs and evils of slavery without the power of administering any relief or remedy. He subsequently preached as a candidate for settlement in the First Church of Beverly, and would have accepted an invitation there tendered to him, had not there been in the parish a great diversity of religious opinion, and a large minority opposed to the settlement of any one not belonging to the so-called orthodox party. He had there many warmly attached friends, who regarded their failure to secure his services as one of the greatest disappointments of their lives; and there are at this moment aged members of the church who retain a vivid recollection of the rich promise of his novitiate and of the intensely strong feeling in his favor.

After closing his engagement at Beverly, he preached at Dover, New Hampshire, for a new Unitarian society, which was started under the most propitious auspices. The town was growing rapidly, the large water-power of the Cochecho having been brought into the service of the then new and prosperous manufacturing interest of New England. There were old men of prominent position and high character, who had retained the tradition of liberal theology from the time of the pastorate of Dr. Belknap half a century before. Among these were Dr. Green, afterward the centenarian senior graduate of Harvard College; Hon. William Hale, who had been well known as a member of Congress, and as a foremost man in every great public cause and interest; and several

other men of like reputation and influence, who gave weight and strength to the new enterprise, which was not the result of a church quarrel, but seemed fully authorized by the increase of the population and the actual demand for added means of religious instruction and influence. A large and costly church edifice had been built, and it was desired that simultaneously with its completion a regular pastorate might be established. Mr. Lothrop was unanimously invited to this office, with the expression of the most earnest desire for his services, and with the feeling that the well-being of the Society was largely contingent on his acceptance. He accepted the charge, and was ordained on the 18th of February, 1829, the church having been dedicated on the 17th. His ministry, so far as he personally was concerned, fully realized the best hopes that had been formed of it. The Society had not, indeed, the rapid increase that had been anticipated; for the town had just then ceased to grow, and for many subsequent years no more than held its own. But he began his work with a congregation by no means small in numbers, and weighing much more than it counted; and during his stay the increase was as great as could have been reasonably expected in a population that had become stationary. His sermons had, indeed, the freshness and vigor of youth, yet the soberness and soundness of thought that indicated a maturity beyond his years. He became, at the same time, very dear to his people in his pastoral relations; and only a few months ago, at the installation of a remote successor, there were survivors of his ministry who still dwelt with loving reverence on the memory of his assiduous kindness and his offices of tender sympathy in the homes of his flock.

On June 3, 1829, Mr. Lothrop married Mary Lyman Buckminster, who had filled so large a part in his life at Cambridge, and who for nearly thirty years shared in full with him all cares and duties which could be so divided, and while never transcending her own proper sphere, subsidized with her cheerful energy his labor in every department of service and in every worthy cause. No sketch of his life would be complete without a fervent tribute to her exceptional ability and excellence. Her household was as wisely ordered and governed as if she had had nothing else to do; her children were the subjects of as diligent nurture and as watchful training as if

she had had no other charge ; her home was made as attractive to friends and to strangers as if hospitality had been her sole concern ; and yet there was no interest of the church or the community that escaped her cognizance, and no occasion for counsel, sympathy, or active co-operation that did not find her always ready with the right word, with the needed office of kindness, or with influence so timed and directed as to insure its due efficacy. She had, too, a marvellous buoyancy of spirit. Often suffering and long an invalid, she was never depressed, and never willing to throw upon others any burden which she was able to sustain unaided ; and to the very last she took thought for every one but herself, and for herself only as relieved from all solicitude on her own account by the almighty and ever-present love of God.

In June, 1834, Mr. Lothrop was inducted into the pastorate of the church in Brattle Square, in Boston, as the successor of Rev. Dr. Palfrey, who had accepted a professorship at Cambridge. This church at that time was second to no other church of any denomination in New England in pecuniary ability, in the high social standing of its members, in the number of distinguished men in various professions and in the public service who were its regular attendants, and in the prestige given to it by those who had occupied its pulpit. To go no farther back than the present century, Dr. Thacher, regarded as the most acceptable preacher of his time, had been succeeded by Joseph Stevens Buckminster, whom his admirers were wont to call the modern Chrysostom ; he, by Edward Everett, who in his subsequent career hardly surpassed the fame of his early manhood ; and he, by Dr. Palfrey, who, with less eloquence, transcended them all in the transparent depth of his ethical thought and reasoning, united with a no less profound religious feeling. Such a church, with such a history, looked far and aimed high in filling the vacancy. It could have had its choice, not only among unsettled ministers, but, with few exceptions, among established pastors of kindred faith. The congregation were determined to have the best minister attainable, and were well fitted to make a wise selection, alike by their own capacity of discernment and by the high standard of professional merit with which they had been so long familiar. Mr. Lothrop was chosen, not merely for the good promise of his youth, but on ample evidence of

its fulfilment in a pastorate of more than five years in a church which, on account of its recent origin, the intelligence of its members, and the vigilant criticism of a surrounding public, had made large demands on its minister. The reputation thus acquired, he from the first fully sustained in his new position. While his power as an orator was of a very high order, he never trusted to it. Those who could look no deeper admired him, indeed, for graceful rhetoric and delivery; but the most serious of his hearers found that he satisfied their spiritual needs and aspirations, and those of the strongest intellectual fibre saw in him their peer. He was also to the last degree watchful, faithful, and kind as a pastor, and established for himself a very dear place in the homes and the warm affection of his flock, so that as long as he lived there were many of those that had attended his ministry who on occasions of domestic joy or grief were willing to have no other service than his. No man ever had a more perfectly harmonious, devoted, loyal congregation, or one more prosperous than his was during his first twenty or twenty-five years.

The Brattle Square Church had a parsonage bequeathed by Madam Hancock, — a large square three-storied house, on Court, near the corner of Tremont Street. With this, as her brother's home, Mrs. Lothrop had precious associations of her childhood. Once a quiet spot, with surroundings almost rural, it had already become noisy with constant passing night and day, yet was still central as to society, and too much so as to the ease of demands on a minister's valuable time. To claims on his sympathy, counsel, and active assistance Dr. Lothrop never learned to say No, unless it were the honest and irrevocable No of disapproval. His known affability and beneficence invited applications from all kinds of people, and in behalf of a large diversity of interests, educational, social, and religious. He had always a hospitable ear, and entered as fully as was in his power into the merits of every case; so that his name or recommendation uniformly implied an exercise of judgment, with a favorable issue. The amount of miscellaneous labor thus cheerfully assumed was far beyond any estimate that could be formed by one who had not been an inmate in his family. He thus had clients more or less dependent on his kind offices in every Christian denomination,

of every condition in life, of every race and color, — a charity so broad as to seem indiscriminate, yet so wise as to be almost never deceived.

Dr. Lothrop served for many years on the Boston School Committee, and it is believed that he devoted more of time, thought, and well-directed labor to the educational interests of the city than any other person on the Board; for he was always a member and generally the chairman of one or more of the most important sub-committees, and it was impossible for him to put less than thorough work into whatever he undertook. There must be in the archives of the Board many scores of pages in his handwriting, attesting the carefulness of his investigations into the merits of teachers, books, and systems, and his elaborate treatment of various subjects appertaining to school administration and discipline. The teachers, too, always had in him a friend who was ready with his advice and his sympathy, and a patient listener to their grievances, needs, and claims.

His administrative capacity led to the desire for his services in various public charities. For many years and till the last year of his life, he was chairman of the distributing committee of the Congregational Charitable Society for the relief of the widows and children of Congregational ministers in Massachusetts (including such persons in Maine as were beneficiaries when Maine became a State). At an early period he visited every person who had a claim on this charity, and ascertained by suitable inquiry her position, resources, and wants; and from that time onward he maintained a system of correspondence by which he kept himself so well informed of the condition of the recipients of the annual donation, that the allotments could be made with special reference to the circumstances of each case.

A not unlike labor was assumed by him and conducted for a long series of years in behalf of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America. This society, of which he was long secretary, half a century ago, in addition to missions among the Gay Head and the Marshpee Indians, supported preachers and teachers in a considerable number of isolated settlements, especially in the Isles of Shoals, and in several small islands off the coast of Maine. Dr. Lothrop, when first made secretary, visited all these

stations at a time when such an enterprise was no holiday excursion, but could be accomplished only by wearying journeys and by navigation neither pleasant nor always safe. Afterward he did not content himself with semi-annual reports, but communicated unofficially with the missionaries and with trustworthy persons in their neighborhood, to ascertain from time to time the exact condition of their charge. The missionaries, too, always had at his house the kindest reception, and were seldom permitted to leave Boston empty-handed.

While Dr. Lothrop's almsgiving was large as compared with his ability, he always gave himself with his other gifts; and no man ever fulfilled more thoroughly the prophet's prescription, "that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh." There were many of the needy and desolate to whom his words of kind regard and good cheer were more precious than gold. The poor old negro Darby Vassall, born in slavery, and in his latter years supported by the Brattle Square Church, of which he had been long a member, had no enjoyment equal to his not infrequent half-hour in his pastor's study, where he was received as cordially as if he had been a stranger of distinction. Indeed, it was through his pastor's agency, to the discomfort of some fastidious pewholders, that he was brought down from his solitary place in the negro-loft above the organ, and comfortably seated beside the pulpit. Dr. Lothrop had no more loving friends than those who but for him would have been friendless. His hospitality, while always made welcome to those who could reciprocate it, was extended with equal readiness to those who could claim it only because they needed it. The guests whom it was charity and sometimes absolute self-sacrifice to receive were never made to feel themselves on an inferior footing to those whose society was a privilege. Young men who had no home were invited to his house, solely in order to keep them from unworthy associations; and on a Sunday evening one seldom failed to see there raw and inexperienced youth, who had nothing to bestow, but much to receive, in society the like of which, but for his thoughtful kindness, would have been beyond their reach. When the Young Men's Christian Union was established, it but continued the work which, on a smaller scale and in his quiet way, he had been doing for many years.

Dr. Lothrop's extra-parochial labor, which during the earlier part of his ministry was possible only for a man of exceptional vigor and working power, was somewhat lessened when, in 1855, his parish obtained leave of the Supreme Court to exchange the parsonage, which in the perpetual whirl and turmoil of one of the busiest street-corners had become almost uninhabitable, for a less central site in Chestnut Street. He surrendered no regular philanthropic work or charge, and to the very last his house was the resort of no small number of applicants for his countenance, aid, and furtherance; but he was less in the way of the class of agents and emissaries for all sorts of enterprises, wise and foolish, by whom ministers are wont to be beset, and for whom no name can be so appropriate as one borrowed from an old English statute,—"sturdy beggars." This exemption, so far as it went, was a welcome relief.

He had, however, been but a little while happily settled in his new home when it was made desolate by the one great sorrow of his life. Mrs. Lothrop died, Jan. 20, 1859, after a long illness borne with the most cheerful resignation and in the "hope full of immortality." Then ensued ten years of widowed life, still further darkened by severe illness in his family; and though there was no abating of heart-hospitality, his house was for that period less than it had been the resort and refuge of all who could claim its shelter.

On the 22d of November, 1869, Dr. Lothrop married Alice Lindsey Webb, daughter of Rev. Abner and Mrs. Catharine Sedgwick Webb, whose eulogy, we trust, may not be written in full for many years, yet of whom it ought to be said here, that no wife can have ministered to her husband's happiness more tenderly and efficiently, or can have received a larger return in unlimited confidence and grateful love.

During the earlier years of his ministry Dr. Lothrop had but few and short seasons of respite from professional duty. City churches were not then closed, and hardly thinned, in the summer; and vacations for the clergy were the rare exception, not, as now, the rule. With the change of habits he had longer seasons of relief; and when the summer discomfort of the parsonage became absolutely unendurable, he purchased a country residence on Milton Hill, where he enjoyed the change of air and scene, holding himself in readiness for professional

duty. In later years and with longer seasons of rest, he sought recreation and renewed strength for his work in extended travel on both sides of the Atlantic, everywhere finding friends or forming friendships, and while alive to all in nature and in art that is grand or beautiful, deriving even greater delight from social intercourse and companionship.

Circumstances entirely beyond Dr. Lothrop's control led to the decline, and ultimately to the dissolution, of his church, — a result to which he can be regarded as having contributed in no form or way, except by the undue confidence reposed in the prestige of his ability and success as sufficient to overcome obstacles in their very nature insuperable. The church edifice was no longer easily or pleasantly accessible. Taverns and old-clothes shops had usurped what was once an aristocratic quarter. The parishioners had all removed to distant parts of the city or to suburban towns. The minister, in Chestnut Street, was much nearer to the church than most of the pew-holders. But still hardly any one left the church, or manifested discontent with the long Sunday's walk or drive. The slow decline of nature, unremarked from Sunday to Sunday by the constant worshippers, yet painfully visible to those whose attendance was at rare intervals, was the only change. Old families were one by one broken up by death or removal, and new families, with attractive churches and ministers not far from their homes, were not inclined to seek a remote place of worship in a part of the city out of the range of their week-day cognizance. But those who survived and stayed loved the spot, and were tenderly attached to the building itself, which in its interior was unsurpassed in the impressiveness of its massive and richly ornate architecture. The necessity of migration was perceived and urged by the minister and by many of the younger members of the congregation; but there were venerable men who could not tolerate such a thought, and to whom their age and worth gave preponderant influence. That a religious society which had filled so important a place in the history of Boston, and had been made illustrious by a series of pastors of so pre-eminent praise in the New England churches, should become extinct, or rest under more than a very brief depression, seemed to these lovers of the past absolutely impossible. Had the church had a less brilliant record, or had the building been less dear and precious,

or had the minister shown diminished capacity to instruct and edify his hearers, the warning would have been taken when it first found voice. Nor when taken did it seem too late. The Society, though reduced in numbers, was united and strong, and it remained strong, though, while the new church was in building, several of its most important members were removed by death. The old building, with its site which was very valuable for business uses, was sold for what seemed nearly sufficient to replace it in a more favorable locality, and among the plans suggested was the removal of the old interior and erecting stone walls for its reception. But other and seemingly wiser counsels prevailed, and issued in a magnificent building, with a tower which is fitly regarded as unequalled in its kind in America, and with an interior both grand and beautiful, at a cost considerably exceeding a quarter of a million of dollars, leaving a heavy debt to be liquidated by the sale of pews.

This burden would have been duly assumed and thrown off, had the building been adapted to Protestant worship. There remained a sufficient number of substantial members and families to start the Society hopefully on its new career, and there was no lack of means or of willingness to meet the pecuniary obligation. But the dedication service was inexpressibly discouraging. The church was crowded with an admiring and expectant audience. Dr. Lothrop delivered a sermon of rare ability and merit, and with undiminished power of eloquent utterance; but for nine tenths of those present nothing reached the ear but a confused and multitudinous reverberation from high blank walls. Of course the attempt at the immediate sale of pews was a failure. Various remedial experiments were tried, but with little or no benefit; and though most of the regular members of the Society still attended worship, both speaking and hearing required wearisome effort.

The last service in the old church was held on the 30th of July, 1871; the dedication of the new church was on Dec. 22, 1873. On the completion of his seventieth year, Oct. 13, 1874, in accordance with a purpose previously announced and well known, Dr. Lothrop wrote a letter to his Society, asking for the early choice and settlement of a colleague pastor, and expressing his readiness to make "relinquishments that will

prevent its imposing any heavier burden on the Society." The parish passed votes in favor of this proposal, at the same time tendering to their pastor the assurance of their gratitude for his "long and valuable services." In pursuance of this vote, one candidate for settlement was employed, with no definite result, and with no further action in the premises. Dr. Lothrop himself occupied the pulpit for the greater part of the time till the next summer vacation. On July 22, 1875, he wrote another letter to the Society, recommending the immediate adoption of measures for the diminution of the debt, setting before them the necessity of so remodelling the pulpit and the portions of the building adjacent to it as to obviate the acoustic difficulties, to which end plans involving no very large expenditure had been proposed, asking for leave of absence till the time for reopening the church the following year, and relinquishing his entire salary for that period, and thenceforward in case of the settlement of a colleague, in which case he was to retain only the title of senior pastor and the occupancy of the parsonage. The leave of absence was granted, and the relinquishment of salary accepted.

On the 19th of August Dr. Lothrop sailed for Europe, with the design and expectation of thus precluding all difficulty and embarrassment in the choice of a colleague. On the 26th of September the church was reopened, but after three Sundays, on two of which a candidate for settlement preached, it was closed, and the services of public worship were suspended. In subsequent communications from Paris and London, and after his return to Boston, Dr. Lothrop urged earnestly upon the Society such methods of procedure as should insure its continued existence and renewed prosperity, tendering his own resignation, so as to leave the room clear and unembarrassed for the establishment of a new ministry. He was answered by repeated expressions of attachment, reverence, and love; and his resignation, at first laid on the table, with the request that he would "aid in preserving the Society by retaining the position of pastor," was at length accepted, only on his persisting in it, after an interval during which no efficient action was taken toward either resuming service in the church or providing another place of worship.

The correspondence, minutes of meetings, and other transactions of the parish with reference to this whole subject were

printed by vote of the proprietors of the church. They have a biographical value, as illustrating Dr. Lothrop's practical wisdom, his love of his profession, his whole-hearted devotedness to his church, and the graces of temper and spirit which crown his record as a Christian minister. The trial was for him to the last degree severe, and attended by not a few circumstances that aggravated its bitterness; but it was sustained with perfect dignity and self-respect, with the utmost serenity, and without a single uttered or written word which he could have wished to recall. His whole life can have afforded no test of character to be compared with this, and no man could have passed through such an ordeal with more entire unselfishness, gentleness, sweetness, and kindness.

The final action of the Brattle Square Society in relation to Dr. Lothrop took place on the 22d of November, 1876, when it was —

"Voted, That the proprietors of the church in Brattle Square accept the resignation of their pastor, the Rev. Samuel K. Lothrop, D.D.

"Resolved, That, in so doing, they desire to reiterate their sense of his fidelity as a Christian minister, their esteem and affection toward him as a friend, their respect for him as a citizen, expressed in the vote at the meeting at which his resignation was tendered and declined; and at the same time to acknowledge the generosity which has marked his various offers for the relief of the Society in its embarrassments, and their regret that the failure of all attempts in that direction has seemed to leave him no alternative but to insist upon this course. They had hoped that only death would sever the bond between them, but they cannot be insensible that duty to him requires them to respect his decision. Though the official tie which binds them with him is broken, his place in their hearts will not be lost. While he lives, he may feel the assurance of their affectionate regard, of their interest in his prosperity, of their prayer that health may be continued to him, that he may experience the choicest blessings of the Divine love, and that, in the peace and serenity of a tranquil old age, secure in the affection of friends, the respect of this community in which he has so long held an honored place and done so much efficient service, and the love of those in whose behalf his youth and manhood have been spent, he may find much to reconcile him to the ways of Providence, by which the work to which his life has been consecrated is brought to a close.

"Voted, That Dr. Lothrop be invited to continue to occupy the parsonage house so long as he may do so without a violation of the conditions under which it is holden by the Society."

After Dr. Lothrop's resignation, his life was quiet and uneventful, but industrious and happy. He remained in the undisturbed possession of the parsonage, which had become very dear to him. His services as a preacher were often sought, and never more highly valued. He maintained his familiarity with current literature, and with social and public interests of every kind. He was busy with mind and pen, and none the less inclined to be a faithful worker because his time was at his own free disposal. His study was still the resort of persons of every class and condition, who craved counsel, sympathy, furtherance, or substantial aid. He retained his official relation to many public charities till his death, and resigned the most onerous of them only in the last year of his life. His freshness and vigor of mind were unimpaired, and his conversational power suffered no decline. He appeared, for the most part, in even robust bodily health. Yet he had, for several of his last years, some organic affection of the heart, which made it impossible for him to walk except for short distances, and occasioned several severe though brief paroxysms of *angina pectoris*. In May of the present year (1886), he took, with his wife, a long journey, visited old and made new friends, bore the weariness of travel with as little discomfort as in earlier years, had a season of very great enjoyment, and returned, as it seemed, with improved health and in excellent spirits. A few days after his return he was suddenly attacked by pneumonia, and after an illness of but forty-eight hours died on the 12th of June, 1886.

As a pulpit orator, Dr. Lothrop had all the external advantages that can give effect to uttered discourse, — a presence commanding and winning, a grace of attitude, movement, and gesture natural and unstudied, which art might have approached without attaining, and a voice of remarkable power and compass, flexible to the apt expression of every varying mood of mind and feeling. But his success as a preacher, while aided by these gifts, was in no wise dependent upon them. It was "apples of gold" that he put into "baskets of silver." His sermons indicated a large and versatile intellectual ability, accomplished scholarship, intimate knowledge of the Scriptures and of questions appertaining to their origin, interpretation, and use, deep thought, and profound religious feeling. They satisfied alike strong thinkers and devout

Christian believers. There never was a time when he was not the preferred preacher with those under his ministry, and the many for whom it was inevitable that they should leave it would have rejoiced to carry it with them.

For many years his sermons were carefully written, though his capacity of ready utterance was in other ways put to frequent test, and always happily. But in the latter years of his ministry he wrote no sermons, and yet gained rather than lost by the change. His unwritten sermons were thought out most elaborately, and in great part mentally composed in word and phrase, and then committed not to paper, but to a wonderfully retentive memory. These discourses were especially noteworthy for traits very rare in the best extempore preaching, — conciseness, method, and the lack of repetition.

Dr. Lothrop's professional reputation was commensurate with his merits. Few ministers have been called to officiate on so numerous and so important public occasions, and his published occasional sermons in every instance fully justified the choice that rested on him. In his own denomination he held a foremost place, as was evinced by his election for several successive years, and so long as he was willing to serve, as President of the American Unitarian Association. He was conservative in his theological opinions, yet at the same time progressive, and with a mind always open to views of truth that had a just claim on his consideration.

The prominent features of Dr. Lothrop's personal character have appeared in the narrative of his life. Suffice it to say that no man can have been more or more worthily endeared and cherished than he, in the love of family, kindred, and more friends than could be numbered, or can have left a memory richer in the many, diverse, and resplendent traits and habits of spirit and of life that are comprised in that highest of all titles, the Christian gentleman.

Dr. Lothrop's children were Thornton Kirkland, now a lawyer in Boston; Eliza Lee, widow of the late Charles D. Homans, M.D.; Joseph Stevens Buckminster, who died in infancy, in 1838; Mary, wife of Oliver W. Peabody, of Boston; Olivia Buckminster, wife of Lewis William Tappan, Jr., of Boston, who died in 1878; and Samuel Kirkland, of Boston.

The only books published by Dr. Lothrop are "The Life of Samuel Kirkland, Missionary to the Indians," in Sparks's American Biography, and "The History of the Church in Brattle Square." He published many sermons, addresses, and other pamphlets. He was for a considerable time one of the editors of the "Christian Register."

Dr. Lothrop received the degree of D.D. from Harvard University in 1852; that of LL.D., from Hamilton College in 1885. He became a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1854, and at the time of his death he was the ninth on the list in the order of election. He was also Corresponding Secretary, and afterward President of the Massachusetts Humane Society; a member of the Society of Cincinnati; Vice-President of the Boston Provident Association; President of the Boston Port and Seamen's Aid Society; Secretary, and afterward President of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America; President of the American Unitarian Association; President of the Society for Promoting Theological Education; President of the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches; for some time Treasurer of the Massachusetts Congregational Convention; President of the Children's Mission to the Destitute; Vice-President of the Institute of Technology; Trustee of the Milton Academy; a member of the Thursday Evening Club; and for fifty years a member, and for a large part of that time Secretary, of the Wednesday Evening Century Club.

JANUARY MEETING, 1887.

THE Society held its first meeting of the new year on the 13th instant, the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

The Secretary's record of the last meeting was read.

Among the accessions by gift to the Library, mentioned by the Librarian, was "Rambles in Old Boston, New England, by Rev. Edward G. Porter," a work of considerable original research, containing descriptions of the quaint buildings in the oldest part of the city, a map of the North End, and nearly one hundred illustrations.

The Corresponding Secretary announced that Professor Allen, of Cambridge, had accepted his election as a Resident Member.

The Cabinet-keeper reported that a beautiful and lifelike photograph of the late Charles C. Perkins had been presented to the Cabinet by his brother, Mr. Edward N. Perkins, and that a relic from the Hancock House had been given by the Rev. W. C. Winslow.

Mr. Charles G. Loring, of the Museum of Fine Arts, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, and Professor Mandell Creighton, of Cambridge, England, was chosen a Corresponding Member.

The Committee appointed to consider the subject of asking Congress to take measures for the preparation of an index of all documents relating to American history which are in foreign archives, reported through Mr. Parkman the following vote : —

Voted, That the memorial to Congress of Benjamin H. Field, Nicholas Fish, John Bigelow and others, praying that body to "authorize the preparation of an index of all the documents of American concern in private or public archives of Great Britain, Holland, France, and Spain, that accumulated between the years 1763 and 1783, and appropriate a suitable compensation for such work, and recommending that Mr.

B. F. Stevens be employed to prepare the said index," meets the approval of this Society; and that the President of this Society be authorized and requested to co-operate with the memorialists by signing, in his official capacity, a memorial in aid thereof.

The Committee appointed to investigate the historical value of the alleged Sharpless portraits of Washington, recently exhibited in this city, and which it was hoped would be purchased by the Government, made the following report:—

Report on the Historical Portraits exhibited by Major Walter.

The interest of the collection centres in the three Washington portraits,—the profile and full face of the General and the profile of Lady Washington. The origin of these portraits, as set forth by Major Walter, is briefly as follows. Robert Cary, a London merchant,—agent for Washington, and also his admiring and devoted friend,—sent an artist named Sharples to America for the express purpose of painting his portrait. Sharples did so,—in 1796, as Major Walter says in one place, or at some period not precisely known, as he says in another.

The evidence that such pictures were painted by Sharples is contained mainly in a letter bearing Washington's signature, in extracts from letters ascribed to Sharples himself, and in a letter signed by Robert Cary. All these are printed in Major Walter's book. The Washington letter has no date. Its style bears no resemblance to the well-known style of the alleged writer. It bears, however, a striking resemblance to the very peculiar style of Major Walter, which is marked by frequent and conspicuous solecisms. One of these is his often repeated use of the verb *to name*, in the sense of *to mention*. Washington also is made to say: "I have been solicited *to name*, that if Mr. Sharples thinks of returning to this country, a good opportunity would be offered to bring them [the pictures] out." And again, a few lines below: "My wife declines to join in asking your consent; I have undertaken simply *to name* it." The letter begins with thanks for two jars of pickled tripe sent as a present by Cary; and the illustrious writer adds, "Dental infirmity impels my caring for this necessary

item in our domestic commissariat,"—a sentence eminently Walterian; as is also the injunction that Sharples shall be required to paint copies of his portraits "in the best manner of his capability."

As this letter not only testifies that Sharples painted the portraits, but also that in Washington's opinion they were "by far the best of any made," the Committee thought it necessary to learn if possible where the original was to be found, and an inquiry to this effect was written to Major Walter. His answer, though long, failed to give the least information, and the question was therefore repeated in still more explicit terms. This drew from him a letter stating that Washington's letters to Cary had been destroyed, at the writer's request, for political reasons; and that, in his own words, "the tripe letter to Mr. Cary seems to have met the designed fate of all such." Why in this deplorable holocaust so devoted an admirer should have thought it necessary to include the perfectly innocent letter in question, which must have been of interest to him as a striking memento of friendship from his distinguished correspondent, is a problem which we are unable to solve. Nor has a somewhat pressing interrogatory enabled us to say how, if the letter was destroyed in Washington's time, Major Walter has been able to print it to-day.

Major Walter gives extracts from certain letters alleged to be written by the artist Sharples, from which it appears that he was on intimate terms with Washington, Lee, Hamilton, and many other eminent men. All these extracts bear the unmistakable stamp of the Walterian style. As in the alleged Washington letter, the word *name* is used in the sense of *mention*. Major Walter, when writing in his own person, also makes frequent use of the word *evidence* as a verb; and Sharples is made to blunder in the same modern journalistic manner, as thus: "General Hamilton *evidences* more what painters would call 'background knowledge'" (p. 72). Again, Major Walter often speaks of Washington as "the Chief," for example: "Hamilton is credited with an earnest desire to possess a portrait of the Chief;" "the Chief's profound knowledge of English history;" "his Chief highly valued his counsel;" "the great Chief was suffering deeply;" "the great Chief's integrity;" "the Chief said," etc. (pp. 53,

83, 102, 174, 185, 190). It is something more than a coincidence that Sharples uses the same expression, and this no less than six times in one letter, thus: "Franklin is not alone in this feeling as to the Chief;" "the great Chief removed my embarrassment;" "the Chief was conversing;" "after the Chief's visit to me I seemed lost;" "when the Chief and his generals called;" "the Chief again brought back my attention" (pp. 69, 71, 72, 73, 74). If Major Walter's style is odd, confused, and incoherent, so also, in exactly the same queer fashion, is that of Sharples. Major Walter was asked where the original of these letters could be seen, and he replied that "there are no journals or papers of Sharples in existence that we know of." Where, then, did he get the extracts?

Ten or twelve years before the Revolution, Robert Cary and Company were Washington's agents in London, and several of his letters to them will be found in Sparks's edition of his writings; the last, written in 1765, complaining that they do not get good prices for his tobacco, and threatening to dispense with their services unless they get better ones. An order from Washington to Cary in 1761 is also printed in Lossing's "Home of Washington." But it is not as the business agent of Washington's earlier years, but as the friend, benefactor, and devoted admirer of his old age, that Cary figures in Major Walter's book, to which fruitful source the Committee owe all the knowledge that they have of him in this latter capacity. An extract from a letter of Cary, eulogizing his illustrious friend, is given on page 242. Here one looks in vain for the characteristic traces of Major Walter's pen. On the contrary, the utterances of "good Robert Cary," as Major Walter calls the newly discovered benefactor of Washington, have a sonorous ring more suggestive of that green island of which in these days we hear so much than of the sober haunts of old commercial London. "May not," he exclaims, — "may not the follies of the Old World at some distant day inter all the pride of its power and the pomp of its civilization, and may not human nature find her destined renovation in the Empire created by Washington! May not the glory of past great ones prove to be legendary traditions! The monumental record of natural rise and natural ruin proclaims that no splendor of achievement, no solidity of success, can insure to

Empire the permanence of its possession. Troy thought so once, yet the land of Priam lives only in song! Thebes thought so once, yet her hundred gates have crumbled, and her tombs are as the dust they were destined to commemorate. So thought Palmyra! Where is she? So thought Demosthenes and the Spartans, but Leonidas is trampled by the timid slave. The rays of their glory are as if they never had been, and the island that was then a mere speck, rude and neglected in the barren ocean, now rivals all the wealth of their commerce, the glory of their names, the fame of their philosophy, the eloquence of their senate, and the inspiration of their bards" (p. 242).

By a remarkable coincidence, the Irish orator, Charles Phillips, about the year 1814, used words almost identical at a dinner at Dina's Island, in the Lakes of Killarney, a young American, John Howard Payne, being present. "Who shall say that when, in its follies or its crimes, the Old World may have interred all the pride of its power and all the pomp of its civilization, human nature may not find its destined renovation in the New! . . . When the glories of our name shall be but the legend of tradition, philosophy will rise again in the sky of her Franklin, and glory rekindle at the urn of her Washington. I appeal to history. Tell me, thou reverend chronicler of the grave, can ambition, wealth, commerce, or heroism secure to empire the permanency of its possessions? Alas! Troy thought so once, yet the land of Priam lives only in song! Thebes thought so once, yet her hundred gates have crumbled, and her monuments are as the dust they were vainly intended to commemorate! So thought Palmyra; but where is she? So thought the countries of Demosthenes and Leonidas; yet Sparta is trampled by the timid slave, and Athens insulted by the servile Ottoman. The days of their glory are as if they had never been; and the island which was then a speck, rude and neglected in the barren ocean, now rivals the ubiquity of their commerce, the glory of their arms, the force of their philosophy, the eloquence of their senate, and the inspiration of their bards."

If it is not likely that the "plain London merchant" — the words are Major Walter's — would have poured himself out in this rhetorical strain, neither is it likely that the Irish orator had ever heard of Cary, or still less could have got access to

his private papers. On the other hand, it is very likely that the words of Phillips, which have been often printed, and which some of us will remember in the school-books of our boyhood, may have met the eye of Major Walter. The passage, as quoted above, is taken from the "American Preceptor," edition of 1837.

Besides the so-called letters of Washington, Sharples, and Cary, Major Walter gives various others, meant directly or indirectly to support his assertions as to the origin of the portraits. Few of them are dated; nearly all bear the names of persons now dead, and nearly all have the conspicuous stamp of Major Walter's peculiar genius. General Gates's wife is made to say, "The subject will never be *named* to him." So also Colonel Trumbull, "He has promised to *name* the matter;" and Albert Gallatin, "You had better not *name* this at any meeting." One of the peculiarities of Major Walter's style is the frequent putting together of two substantives, the first playing the part of an adjective. Accordingly, Colonel Trumbull fails not to do the same, as follows, all in one letter: "ordeal repetition," "penance process," "art occupations," "life originals," "canvas attempts" (pp. 59, 60, 61). Most of these letters, however, are comparatively recent, and even if genuine could only prove that certain eminent persons had seen the pictures and believed in them. The Walterian mark is everywhere conspicuous. Thus Washington Irving is made to say: "*The owning family* [a favorite expression of Major Walter's] are described as 'English gentlefolks;' and we can only hope that when the time comes for any disposal of the pictures, the spirit of that class may be *evidenced*" (p. 18). Again, Mr. Cadwallader Colden writes, "I *name* to you that Mr. Armstrong is one of the Astor executors" (p. 19). Elihu Burritt declares that "Stuart's unnaturally high coloring *evidences* that the artist was indulging in a freak of fancy" (p. 37); and Macready the actor, "The sketches, though *evidencing* great ability" (p. 21). Ralph Waldo Emerson, like Irving and various others, writes about the "*owning family*;" and Nathaniel Hawthorne says: "These heads [those of the female portraits] *evidence* that infinitude of womanly beauty and force of character marking the dames most in vogue at the court of Mount Vernon. The President clearly appreciated good looks, and Martha herself had an eye

in the right vein, *evidenced* in the noble stature and bearing of her husband" (p. 35). It has hitherto been imagined that Irving, Emerson, and Hawthorne knew how to use the English language.

Trumbull, speaking with easy familiarity of Washington's wife, is made to say, "Martha's blue blood often crops out;" and, "Many will never forgive her desire for exclusive English possession" (of the portraits). And Gallatin writes in the same Walterian strain: "Martha Washington designed these portraits for British possession." In short, the eccentricities of Major Walter's style are reproduced in all but three or four of the letters which he would have us accept as those of distinguished persons no longer living to disclaim them.

Examples might be greatly multiplied. There are, it is true, several letters which may be genuine, but they prove only that the writers had taken Major Walter at his word, which is not surprising, since he had not yet printed the book in which he proves that his word cannot be trusted. Except his statements backed by equally questionable letters, the Committee have found no evidence that the Washington pictures were even heard of by any American before the exhibition of one of them in New York in 1854.

It is worth while to observe that in the letter mentioned above, Elihu Burritt is represented as saying, "Wendel Holmes, Ward Beecher, and others of our poets and literature-makers, have felt their delight tinged with sorrow when face to face with these inestimable treasures." As Burritt died in 1879, this letter, if written by him, could not have been written after that time. But Dr. Holmes did not "stand face to face with these inestimable treasures" till they were brought to this country in 1882.

Another point calls for notice. When, in 1882, the three portraits were exhibited at the Boston Art Museum, it was observed that the eyes of the full-face portrait of Washington were brown. The curator, Mr. Charles G. Loring, struck by this error, directed to it the attention of his assistant, Miss Gray, and of various other persons. When the portraits returned to America in 1886, the eyes were blue. Accordingly, while the autotypes copyrighted in 1882 show the iris as nearly black, the autotype in Major Walter's recent book

shows it as almost white. When Major Walter was desired to explain this remarkable change, he replied that the blue came out in consequence of wiping the dirt from the picture and applying a coat of varnish. But we have it on the unimpeachable testimony of Mr. Loring that when the picture was in his keeping it was in excellent condition, with no dirt to be removed and no need of varnish. In the profile of Washington, as well as the full face, the eyes, which were brown in 1882, are blue in 1886. Curiously enough, Mr. Arthur Dexter observed, when the pictures were at the Art Museum, that while the eyes of Washington were brown instead of blue, those of his wife were blue instead of brown. Whether or not the three Washington portraits were based on drawings made from life by Sharples, this transposition of color betrays the hand of one who had forgotten or who never saw the essential features of his subject.

Major Walter places great weight on the evidence of an aged gentleman, Dr. Van Pelt, who in 1854, in a letter which bears marks of being genuine, writes that when he was a child, and before Washington was President, he once took hold of the buttons of the General's coat and looked up into his face, and that the portraits answered to his recollection. The recollections of an octogenarian of a face seen for a few moments when a child, are not usually very accurate. His letter, however, testifies only to what was already plain; for nobody denies that the portraits bear some resemblance to Washington, — a fact which is far from proving that they were painted from life.

As to the "blessed mother," as Major Walter styles the alleged portrait of the elder Mrs. Washington, the Committee regard the evidence touching it as wholly unsatisfactory. Concerning the portraits of ladies of Washington's time, Major Walter himself admits them to be recent paintings based on sketches which he says were made from life by Sharples. Washington, he further says, valued them highly on account of pleasant associations which, to borrow Major Walter's words, "caused these little else than skeletons being clung to in the manner *evidenced* to the day of his death."

The above is but a part of the reasons which tell against the historical value of the collection. If all were said that

might be said, this report would stretch to thrice its present prolixity. Those who wish to pursue the inquiry further are referred to the accompanying letters of Major Walter to Mr. Ellis, and to the annexed communication of Mr. Goodell, to whose careful study of the subject the Committee are much indebted.

It is well known that an English painter named Sharpless — written "Sharples" by Major Walter — came to America three, or possibly five, years before the death of Washington; that he here made many portraits, chiefly in crayon, of prominent persons, including Washington and his wife, and that some of these portraits, in an unfinished state, were carried by him to England. It may, therefore, well be that the portraits shown by Major Walter are based on sketches by this artist; but the fact that the eyes were incorrectly colored in all of the three Washington portraits seems to prove that the final work was done by some other painter who had never seen the originals. In the letter in Major Walter's book, ascribed to Macready, though written in Walterian English, occurs the following passage, which is an admission that the pictures in their present state are partly the work of another hand than that of Sharpless: "Stanfield and MacIise agree as to the portraits having at Mr. Cary's death suffered a good deal from storage in a lumber-room; careful restoration has remedied this, and made them far better than Sharples left them" (p. 22).

In considering the question whether or not Sharpless had any hand in Major Walter's three Washington portraits, it is to be observed, first, that the two undoubted Sharpless profiles, belonging to the late G. W. P. Custis and to Mrs. Goldsborough, — one of which is reproduced in Miss Johnston's collection of Washington portraits, — bear no resemblance whatever to the alleged Sharpless profile exhibited by Major Walter; secondly, that Major Walter's full-face portrait is that of a man in the prime of life, whereas Sharpless never saw Washington till he was an old man, and did not paint his portrait till 1796, only three years before his death.

The Committee began their inquiry under a strong impression that the three portraits were what they were represented to be; but this was quickly removed on an examination of the evidence produced by Major Walter in proof of his assertions,

since it is of such a character that, from reasons given above, and others almost equally cogent, they feel compelled wholly to reject it.

For the Committee,

F. PARKMAN, *Chairman.*

It was voted by the Society that the foregoing report be printed in full in the daily newspapers.

Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., then said: —

Mr. President, — The fourth volume of the second series of the Society's Collections, printed in 1816, contains a piece of poetry entitled "The Non-Conformist's Oath," which purports to have been copied verbatim from a manuscript volume of Deputy-Governor Thomas Danforth, who died at an advanced age in 1699, and who describes it as "copies of some verses sent from England in 1666."

Many years ago our late President found among the Winthrop Papers another copy of these verses, which he assumed to be identical with the one just mentioned, but which I have recently examined, and find to differ materially from it, not merely in spelling and numerous changes of isolated words, but also in the insertion of an entire stanza, and one of the best. I have not been able to identify the handwriting, but its general character and the appearance of the paper stamp it as being contemporaneous; and I imagine that it was either brought over by Governor John Winthrop the younger on his return to New England in 1663 or sent to him not long after by some friend in London. I am satisfied that it is the original version, that the Danforth copy is an imperfect one; and I accordingly applied to our associate Dr. Dexter, the great authority on Congregational literature, to know whether "The Non-Conformist's Oath" was to be found in print elsewhere than in the old volume of the Society's Collections to which I began by referring. Dr. Dexter replied that his first impression was that he had somewhere seen it, but after careful search he failed to find it or any reference to it. Some gentleman present may be more fortunate; but if not, it has occurred to me that we might now like to print it correctly. Seventy years have elapsed since we published the other, which few persons are likely now to recall; and as the verses are, I think, an exceptionally interesting example of the satirical

poetry of the period of the Restoration, with a healthy Puritan ring to them, and not long, I will venture to read them.

They are indorsed "The Non-Conformist's Oath," and the sub-title is, —

"A non-conformist doth declare
Both what he can and can nott sweare."

"I feare an oath, before I sweare, to take it,
And well I may, for 'tis the oath of God,
I feare an oath, when I have sworne, to break it,
And well I may, for vengeance hath a rod.

"And yet I may and must sweare, for 'tis due
Both to my heavenly and my earthly king,
If I assert, it must be full and true
And if I promise, I must doe the thing.

"I am no quaker not at all to sweare,
Nor papist to sweare east and meane a west,
But am a protestant and will declare
What I can nott and what I can protest.

"I never will endeavour Alteration
Of Monarchy nor of the Royall name,
Which God hath chosen to command the nation,
But will maintain his person, crowne, and fame.

"What he command (if conscience say not nay,
For conscience hath a greater king than hee)
For conscience sake (not feare) I will obey,
And if not active, passive I will bee.

"I'll pray that all his subjects may agree
And never more be crumbled into parts,
I will endeavour that his Majesty
May not be king of Clubbs, but king of hearts.

"The Royall Oake I swear I will defend
But for the Ivy which doth hugge it soe,
I swear it is a theife and not a freind,
And upon Steeples fittest is to grow.

"The Civill Government I will obey,
But for church polity I sweare I doubt it,
And if my bible want Apocrypha,
I hope my booke may be compleat without it.

"I dare not sweare Church Government is right
 As it should be, yet this I dare to sweare,
 If you will put me to 't, the bishops might
 Doe better, and be better, than they are.

"Nor will I sweare, for all that they are worth,
 That Bishopricks shall stand and doomesday see,
 Yet I will sweare the Gospell holdeth forth
 That Christ with 's ministry till then will be.

"That Peter was a prelate they averre,
 But I'll not sweare 't when all is said and done,
 But dare to sweare, and hope I shall not erre,
 He preach't a hundred sermons to their one.

"S^t Peter was a fisher and caught men
 And they have nets and in them catch men too,
 But I'll not sweare they are alike, for them
 He catch't and saved they catch 'em and undoe.

"I dare not sweare the church Ecclesiastick
 Doe in their lawes make just and gentle votes,
 But I'll be sworne that Burton, Prin, and Bastick
 Were once *ears*-witnesses of harsher notes.¹

"Archdeacons, Deanes and Chapters are brave men
 By cannons, not by scripture, and to this
 If I be called, I'll sweare and sweare again,
 That no such chapter in my Bible is.

"I'll not condemne those presbiterians who
 Refused Bishopricks and might have had 'em,
 But M^r Calamy I'll swear doth do
 As well as if she were a spirituall Madam.²

"For holy vests I dare not take an Oath
 Which Linnen most canonicall may be,
 Some are for Lawne, some holland, some Scots cloth,
 And *hempe* for some is fitter than all three.

¹ In the preceding reign the Rev. Henry Burton, the famous William Prynne, and Dr. John Bastwick had been sentenced to have their ears cropped, at the instigation, it is believed, of Archbishop Laud.

² Wife of the celebrated Presbyterian divine, the Rev. Edmund Calamy.

"Paul had a cloake, and bookes and parchments too,
But that he wore a surplice I'll not sweare,
Nor that his parchments did his orders show,
Or in his bookes there was a Common prayer.

"I owe assistance to the king by Oath
And if he please to putt the prelates downe
(As who can tell what may be) I'll be loath
To see Tom Beckett's mitre push the Crowne.

"And yet Church Government I doe allow,
And am contented bishops be the men,
And that I speake in earnest here I vow
Where we have one I wish we might have ten.

"In fine, the civill power I'll obey
And seeke the peace and welfare of the Nation,
If this won't doe, I know not what to say
But farewell London, farewell Corporation!"

I desire also to communicate a number of letters from Richard Leader to John Winthrop, Jr., between 1646 and 1660. More than a year ago Dr. Charles Edward Banks, known to many of us as an interesting writer upon the early history of Maine, asked me to make an exhaustive examination of the unpublished Winthrop Papers, in order to ascertain whether there existed any letters, or additional letters, of certain "Maine Worthies," of whom he furnished me a long list. All I could find was one additional letter of Henry Boade, which I communicated to the Society in December, 1885, and which has since been printed, together with these of Richard Leader, which I have only recently found time to decipher and copy. Leader was a man of considerable cultivation and scientific attainment for that period, who, having previously been engaged in mining operations in Ireland, was sent out here from England in 1645 as superintendent of the iron-works at a liberal salary. He subsequently undertook copper-mining on his own account in Essex County; and when this proved a failure, he embarked in sugar-refining and the manufacture of salt in the West Indies, besides finding time to build a large saw-mill at Kittery, where he acquired a valuable estate, became a magistrate, and was at one time sent to England to appeal to Parliament against the alleged encroach-

ments of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in Maine. He is believed to have been related to the Cutts family of Portsmouth (though in what degree has not been ascertained), and he was an intimate friend not only of John Winthrop, Jr., but also of the well-known Dr. Robert Child, who speaks of Leader as possessing a curious library, especially strong in theology. These letters are variously dated in London, in Boston, in Maine, and in Barbadoes, and relate chiefly to the commercial ventures of the writer, with occasional references to public affairs. One passage in a letter from Barbadoes in the early part of 1660 astonished me not a little. Leader, who had lived much in many countries, complains bitterly of the West Indian climate, and says that but for the assistance in his enterprises afforded him by slave-labor, he would much rather live in New England, adding, "For my owne part, I see no place either for proffit or pleasure so good as Ireland, where I intend to steere my course so soon as I cann withdraw what I have oute of this westerne world." In view of what historians tell us of the deplorable condition of Ireland in the years immediately succeeding the Cromwellian wars, it is somewhat remarkable that Leader—who had been a good deal of a traveller, and who was neither an Irishman born nor a Roman Catholic—should have pitched upon that country as the pleasantest and most profitable place of residence in the world.

He was not, however, destined to return there. In the succeeding letter (in August of the same year) he describes his health as having gone on from bad to worse, being, to use his own words, "a weaknes & feeblenes in all my lymbes, being the dreggs of a desperate disease which we call the Belly-Ake," which prevented him from leaving Barbadoes until the spring of 1661, and which resulted in his death on his estate at Kittery not long after. It has been suggested that the reason Leader was at one time in hot water with the authorities in Massachusetts was because he was a member of the Church of England; but I think this theory is effectually disproved by a passage in the letter from which I have just quoted, where, in allusion to the restoration of Charles II., he says:—

"I question not but you are fully informed of the great change and sudden alteration in England. If the tender-hearted ones are deprived the liberty of their consciences, to serve their God in truth of heart, but must all be forced to fall downe to what shall be Established by a State,

my face shall be turned away from ever having thought to see my native country while I live. The Lord only knows what the end of these things will bee. He that sits in heaven will have them in decision."

[Six of Leader's letters are here printed in full. Two unimportant ones are omitted.]

HAMERSMITH, the 21th of August, 1648.

S^r, — Your kind letter by the bearer I have rec: by which I am glad to understand of your good healthe. I certefie you the like of myne. I have lately received from the Doc, whoe remembers his love to you and hath ordered me to see if his fine canne be remitted; which he will venture in your black lead myne, in case you approve of it.¹ S^r, I want 4 or 5^{lb} of mercury to trie some Stone I have. I would intreat you for soe much of that I spared you of the Doc's, and that with what speede you canne. The company are very much discontented, and use me not as I have deserved. They have sent one over to take an asco of things, and to give them sattisfaction how things stand with us. But I am in some doubt they will be failed of their expectation in him. For my p^{te} I am resolved they shall provide them with another Agent, except a more cleere understanding canne be maintained betwext us. This with my hearty Love to you in hast I rest

Your Loveing friend, RICH: LEADER.

To his very Loving fr^d JOHN WINTHROP Jun^r Esq^r these, at Pequott.

PISCATAWAY, the 12th of 7brs 1655.

DEARE S^r, — I have herewith sent you two of a sort of those bookes I promised you; to the intent you may reserve one by you, and yet pleasure your freinds either by loane or gifte with the other. I have also sent you the dementions of a furnace hearth. But I can not at present find the booke it is in, it being packed away in some trunke amongst other things. I shall mynd it, and send it to you by the first opportunity. If these should overtake you at Boston you may have the cost for me of M^r Osborne, which I wrote him from London in a letter in 1650, according to which derection he made the hearth that made both the most Iron and best yield that ever was yet made in New-England. I know he hath my letter. I have not more to inlarge but close up these lynes with the presentation of my reall love to yo and to yo^r good wife, remaining alwaies

Your very Loveing freind, RICH: LEADER.

I pray remember my love to ould White and to John Elderkin.

To his honoured friend M^r JOHN WINTHROP, these dl.

¹ Dr. Robert Child.

Boston, the 26th of January 1655.

S^a, — After my salute with these lynes of my reall & true love to you and to your good wife, I could not but acquainte you that since I parted from you I have concluded with som friends to goe set on the makeing of salte at the Barrbados; which on serious consideration I find to be a busines of greate value, in regard of the situation and the great resort of shipping thither, and the easines of makeing salte there and benifitt of the trade flowing thereof. And the rather I am moved to informe you to the end it may not in any waise damage you in your intentions, which I heare (since my comeing to towne) are to set on that designe here by the way of boyleing. I wish you had hinted it to me at our meeteing, to the end I might then have had occation given to manifest my thoughts that way. For our purpose is to suply not only this country (and at easiey termes) but also Nova-terra and England and Ireland also, so farr as wee cann; for I no waies question the makeing what quanteties wee please. I hope to be goeing hence towards the barbados about the latter end of the next month or the middle of mrch at the farthest, and as sone as I have set our busines in a posture of acteing (which I hope shall be within one month after my arrivall there) I intend to London, and from thence back there, to finish what shall be now begunne. In which busines, and the trade flowing from it, I shall have occation of much helpe, both for Agents & comon servants; and therefore if you have not any better opportunity for yo^r sonnes preferment, and that you continew in the mynd you weare when I saw you last, and also if the yonge manes mind inclyne to be a marchant, I should gladly receive him, and for your sake do him what good I could.¹ For which, if he pruve towardly, it will be a portion sufficient for him in this world; if otherwise, it will be his losse & his friends sorrow & grieve. He shall be to me not as a Servant but as a sunn; if he mynd but his owne good, to be dilligent and faithfull in what he shall be intrusted with and employed in, my love will be much inflamed to him. If he should be of a stubborne & crosse nature, it would not sut with my temper, it being such as could not use any harsh meanes to drive, but love to draw. I shall forbear p'viding myselfe with any till I heare from you, the which I pray let be with what speede you cann; I should be glad it might be before I parte the country.

Here is a yatch lately come from England, by whome wee rec this newes in short. That a generall plenty is still in England, and settled pease at home, & conclusion of pease with france, but open war with spaine; a declaration of the grounds thereof being also gonne over which I have read but two tedious to relate. The two Generalls Penn & Venables arived, and both in the Tower for a time, but released

¹ Fitz-John Winthrop, then a youth of seventeen, subsequently an officer in the Parliamentary army.

again; all the fleete paid of by the p'tector very fully & freely, and great preparation for a fresh fleete, both to the Indies, and on the coaste of Spaine. The bills of exch: from these partes accept & paid with honnor [two words illegible]. The protector resolves to carie it an end with vigor and is much incensed against the Spanyards. Capt Gougen is now come and hath comission to transport all people from these partes to Jamaica that have mynds to goe (& are not able to pay their passage) at the publique charge. There is a great plaigue in holl, so as but little trade betwix them & England. The generall news is that all the cristian world is in warrs & broyles; happy is our nation to be at pease at home. There is 1000 horse & foote kept in each county in England to be a guard for the country, which is maintained by the delinquents. Ireland in a very peacable & gallant condition, the greatest part of the army disbanded, paid their areares in lands & turne planters, which is delivered to them on the termes the adventurers have theires. I shall close these lynes with my love once more presented & remaine

Your Loveing friend,

RICH: LEADER.

To his much honoured friend JOHN WINTHROP, Esq^r
at his house at Pequott, dl

*Agreement between Richard Leader, Thomas Broughton, & John
Winthrop, Jun^r.*

Whereas M^r John Winthrop hath discovered to Richard Leader and Thomas Broughton an art for makeing of salt in the Barbadoes in a better, shorter, and cheaper way then hath bin formerly used by any he knowes or heard of, the said Richard Leader and Thomas Broughton doe solemnely promise and engage themselves in the penalty of twenty thousand pounds sterling to keepe secret and not discover directly or indirectly to any, or make use or tryall of the said way in any part of the world except upon such termes and valluable consideration as they shall all agree on with the said M^r Winthrop. Witness our hands this first of Aprill, 1656.

RICH: LEADER.

THOMAS BROUGHTON.

* [Endorsed, by J. W. Jr.,

"M^r Leader & M^r Broughton's Ingagem^t about the Art of Salt &c."]

BARBADOS, the 16th of January, 1656.

S^r, — I rejoiced when I heard of your health by this bearer, and having so fit an opportunity could do no lesse then present you with a lyne of love. And to let you know of some part of my perigreenation

since I parted from you. I have been in England from the 1^o of Septem^r 1657 till the last of May 58, in which time I saw many changes in the governments of this world, and in perticuler persons also. Myselfe & my condition being subjected to change, Sometime to abound & sometime to want. While I remained in England I married a Gentlewoman whome a long time had waited for me on that acc^t, whom I left in London expecting to returne to her within a yeares time from my departure, whose found and saw clearly that it could not be, and therefore is now with me to my great content. My busines for the present is the refininge of suger, which I finde to be a trade both ingenuous & profittable, and will give me a good subsistance whilst I remaine here, the Lord adding a blessing to our indeavors.

I have followed the salte-workes with my full power of purse and person, since I came over last as well as formerly. But as yet there hath not been so cleere a demonstration made as will sattisfie the world, by reason of the raines comeing in upon us before we could do anything after a sett of ponds were finished. And now at last the windmill shafte being rotten & broke, being by that meanes deprived to raise water to the ponds, cann do nothing till that defecte be amended, and being out of purse so much myselfe on that designe, to the value of 600th S^l, cannot disburse more on that acc^t till I have a right understanding with those interested with me, there being great changes with them since my undertakeing of this designe.

I have made a sett of ponds, in number five, being one lower then the other 6 inches, to the end the water might passe from one to the other by little sluces afixed to them for that end; four of the said ponds were for the hightening of the water into pickle, the other for coine^r the salte that shall be ripened by the other ponds; for I see clearly that a small pond will serve to coine the salte that great quantities of ground will heighten. For I do find clearly that the salte water of the sea here lends but a 32 part of salte in it, by which rule 32 tuns of water will make but one tun of salt. The 16th after I filled my ponds (which hold very tite) and set them at worke I had salte in my coineing pond, and there being water in all the rest heightening to come in successively, so that every day wee should have raked salte. And had the weith^r continewed but one weeke or fortnight longer, I should have been fully sattisfied in all things what quantety of salte so much ground would make, and in what time, and what would be the charge thereof; which is the only thing wanting. But this I cannot doubt of, the feasability of the thing. Neither is there any obstruction in Nature but that which may be remediable by art. A small time and cost will make full tryall of it, which as sone as I cann spare time and mony shall be don, God sparing me life and health. I am not in love with

this clyme, nor with the people in generall; I see most evidently the coulder & midle tempered zones are the sweete clymes. That where you live I do approve of to be very good, were it not so much in the extreemes of hot & could. Both in the natural temper of the weither and in the sivillity of the people ruleing, I am confident I could make as much p'fit & raise as staple comodities as any in the world with you, had I but so many slaves under me, to be ruled by rigor, as they do here, and cleere more by them then they do here. I see that plantations are worth nothing in themselves, were it not for the vast number of slaves they have on them, and these maintained at an easy charge. For my owne part I see no place so good as Ireland either for p'fitt or pleasure, where I intend to steere my course so sone as I cann withdraw what I have oute of this westerne parte of the world.

Sr, I pray excuse me for my longe scrowle and favoure me with a lyne from you, that I may heare of youre welfare and what p'gresse you have made in the Iron worke which M^r Goodyer (at his being in England before his death) tould me you had great hopes it would do well. I shall close these lynes with the presentation of my love to you and to your good wife & ever rest

Your assured Loveing fr^d,

RICH: LEADER.

I have here sent you p this bearer, M^r Giles Hamblett, a small token of my love, namely two suger loafes, it being some fruites of my profession.

To JOHN WINTHROP, Esq^r these present
In New-England

P^r M^r Giles Hamlet, whome God preserve.

BARBADOS the 14th of August 1660.

WORTHY S^r,—Yours of 22th of May is come to my hands by M^r Hamblin by whome I send these. It joyed my heart to see a lyne from your hand (though in some weaknes); I hope by this time God hath restored to perfect strength againe. I thanke you for that longe acco^t you render me of the state of Minerall affaires in that country. Another age may bring something to perfection, when the country shall be furnished with men of partes to manage that busines. I should have sent you the moddall desired by you, but my indisposition for present action & the pressing of other busines hath prevented at present. But I intend to come for New-England in the Spring, and then I am not out of hope to see your face & to comunicate my thoughts to you by oculer demonstration. My cheifest end being to see to recover my

lost health which this clyme hath in great measure deprived me of. Being a weaknes and feeblenes in all my lymbes, being the dreggs of a desperate disease which we call the Belly-Ake, which is only restored by remove into the coulder clymes as experience teacheth. I should have come now but that I dare not aproch those partes in the winter season, haveing been so long in the heate. I intend as soon as a way is opened to remove into the temperate zones, who are enriched with many comfortes which wee are deprived of here, the changes of Winter & Summer and the many variety of fruits, and other things which is great content to the mynd of man. I cann make a true estimate of the one and the other in some measure.

I question not but you are fully informed of the great change and sudden alteration in England. If the tender hearted ones are deprived the liberty of their consciences, to serve their God in truth of heart, but must all be forced to fall downe to what shall be Established by a State, my face shall be turned away from ever having thought to see my native country while I live. The Lord only knowes what the end of these things will bee. He that sitts in heaven will have them in decision.

Time permitts me not to enlarge, and therefore I must close these lynes with the presenting you & your wife with my reall & true affections, and shall ever remaine

Your very Loveing fr^d

RICH: LEADER.

To the worship^l and his much honnoured friend

JOHN WINTHROP Esq^r dl
In New England.

Mr. WINTHROP then continued:—

I desire also to communicate from the same source a document which has caused me much labor in deciphering, and which is a petition to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, dated June 21, 1637, and signed by Richard Saltonstall, Nathaniel Warde, John Norton, Daniel Denison, Samuel Appleton, and many others of the then inhabitants of Ipswich, fifty-six in all. The original signatures attached render it of considerable local interest in Essex County, and it is intended to give it to the Essex Institute; but before doing so I prefer to communicate it here, as we should undoubtedly have printed it long ago if it had not escaped notice. Ipswich, as we all know, was settled in 1633 by twelve of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, headed by John Winthrop, Jr. He gradually acquired a considerable estate there, became lieutenant-colonel of the

Essex County regiment, of which John Endicott was colonel; and though repeatedly absent in England, in Connecticut, and in attendance upon the meetings of the Council at Boston, yet for a period of twelve years he considered Ipswich his home, and all the time he could spare from his public duties was devoted to his farm there. This petition, of which I find no mention upon the records of Massachusetts, would appear to have been hurriedly prepared in consequence of a rumor that it was the intention of the Council to appoint him to a military command which would have necessitated the removal of his family from Ipswich. It is addressed "To our much honored Gov^r & Counsellors att Boston, these."

Our humble duties & respects premised: understanding there is an Intention to call M^r Winthrop Jun from us & to remitt the Custody of the Castle to him, we could not, out of the entire affection we beare to him & his welfare, but become earnest petitioner^s to your worship^s that you would not deprive our Church & Towne of one whose presence is so gratefull & usefull to us. It was for his sake that many of us came to this place & wthout him we should not have come. His abode with us hath made our abode here much more comfortable than otherwise it would have bene; M^r Dudley's leaving us hath made us much more desolate & weake than we were, & if we should loose anothe^r magistrate it would be too great a greif to us & breach upon us, & not a magistrate only but our Lieutenant Colonell so beloved of our Soldiours & military men that this remote Corner would be left destitute & desolate. Neith^r can we conceive but that this removall from us will much prejudice & unsettle him; the place he is chosen unto we feare will neith^r mayntaine him & his company comfortably nor prove certaine to him, but upon sundray occasions mutable. It would be very uncomfortable to him, as we suppose, to live upon others maintenāce, or to neglect that portion of land & love which God hath given him amongst us; the improvall of his estate here we hope will prove a better & surer support then a yearly stipend from the country w^{ch} hath groaned much under the burthen of that Fort already. We find his affections great & constant to our Towne & we hope our's shall never faile towards him & his. We therefore humbly beseech you that we may still enjoy him, & that you would not expose him to so solitary a life & a place where we hope there will not be much use of him: nor us to the losse & want of one so much desired of us. The distance we are sett in hath made us earnest for the company of able men & as loath to loose them when we have obtained them.

Thus hoping you will please to consider & tender our condition we humbly take our leaves, resting

JUNE 21. 1637.

You^r worp^s in all due serviss,

Richard Salstonstall^c
Nath^l Warde.
John Norton.
Daniell Denison.
Samuell Appleton.
Thomas Bressye.
Robertt Andrewes.

Joseph Morse.	W. Hubbard.
Christopher Osgood.	Jonathan Wade.
John Perkins, Jouner.	William White.
Richard Jacob.	John Pirkines, Senar.
Philip Fowler.	George Carr.
William Goodhue.	John Tuttall.
Roger Lanckton.	Richard Hasfield.
Thomas Dorman.	George Giddings.
Joseph Medcalfe.	Edward Gardner.
Thomas Boeman.	John Latchwell.
John Webster.	John Saunders.
Robert Lord.	John Severnes.
Thomas Wells.	Anthony Colby.
John Gassett.	Robert Mussey.
John Coggsell.	John Peekins.
Humfried Bradstreet.	Nathaniell Bishop.
Thomas Corse. (?)	John Proctor.
Henry Syewall.	John Coventun.
Edward Katcham.	Allen Perley.
Thomas Clark.	Thomas Howlitt.
John Gage.	William Fuller.
William Barthollmew.	Alexander Knight.
Michael Cathwrite.	(Illegible.)
Samuell Charman.	Jhon Thomson.
Thomas Trench.	Thomas Hardy. ¹

Some of us that are members of the Church att Boston are bold to clayme this promise from M^r Winthrop for whome we write, that if we would came hith^r wth him he would not forsake us, but live & die wth us : upon these promises we came wth him to beginn this plantation, and they were made to us upon the proposall of our feares that when we were drawne hith^r he should be called way from us. And we both desire & hope that they may be alwayes remembered & p^rformed.

¹ Gaps in the above list would indicate that space was left for signatures which there was no time to secure.

Either as a result of this petition, or because there proved to be no foundation for the report upon which it was based, the subject of it continued for eight years longer to maintain a close connection with Ipswich, though necessarily much absent upon important public duties. Indeed it was not till the end of 1649 that he ceased to be a Massachusetts magistrate, and early in the following year removed his family to Connecticut. In this connection it seems proper to communicate another document, which has hitherto escaped attention, and which is the original letter of recommendation of Mr. and Mrs. John Winthrop, Jr., from the First Church of Boston to Saybrook Church at the mouth of the Connecticut River. It is dated July 23, 1650, and signed by John Cotton, John Wilson, and Thomas Oliver, the body of the letter being in the handwriting of Wilson.

To the Reverend pastor & Beloved brethren in the Church of Christ at Seabrooke, grace & peace in our Lord Jesus.

It having pleased the Lord by his Allwise providence to remove the honored brother of our church, M^r John Winthrop, with our beloved sister his wife, M^{rs} Elizabeth Winthrop, & together wth them our beloved sisters, Eliz: the wife of Samuel Lothrop & Joha^{na} the wife of Isaac Willy, unto the new plantation at Pekott, there to dwell & abide (where before now they well hoped, as we did also, that the good ordinances of Christ may be established according to his owne Institution, & still we doe hope for the same good blessing, wth they pursue after): but in the meanwhile the Lord so disposing that they be destitute thereof, neyther can enjoy at such a distance their wonted communion wth us, & therefore have desired our reco^mendation unto your church, to the end y^t as God doth give them opportunity, they or any of them may partake of the holy things of God amonge you & the comfort of the holy fellowship therein,—we do therefore reco^mend them & each one of them unto you for the same end, Beseeching you accordingly to receive them in the Lord as becometh Saints: unto whose abundant grace we co^mend you all, as by yo^rselves we desire to be co^mended through Christ Jesus.

Your very loving brethren the Elders of the Church of Christ at Boston, in the Behalfe & upon the deliberate & exprest consent of the whole Church here,

JOHⁿ COTTON.
JOHN WILSON.
THO. OLIVER.

This 23 of the 5th. 50.
BOSTON.

To the Church of Christ at Seabrooke Fort.

I desire further to communicate, from the same source, a letter from Richard Steele (afterwards better known as Sir Richard Steele the dramatist) to Governor Joseph Dudley. It is dated June 25, 1700, when the writer was private secretary to the famous Lord Cutts, Dudley's friend and patron; and I should have communicated it with the Cutts Letters a year ago, if it had not got mixed up with some letters of the Steele family of Connecticut. I am informed that Richard Steele's early letters are rare; the cover of this one is missing, but it is endorsed "M^r Steel," in Dudley's hand.

JUNE 25th 1700.

S^r,—I have your kind raillery of the 4th and shall not pretend to answer it: you excuse my not doing that in your observation of the losse of my brains, but the circumstances of that matter are such that you yourself, as wise as you really are, would have done the same thing. You can not imagine the sincere pleasure M^{rs} Lawrence's Pity gave me. I always had an honour for her, & knew she had, at the bottome, a generous disposition. I am just come of Hampton Court Guard. You already know L^d Jersey is Chamberlain, L^d Rumney Groom of the Stole. 'Tis expected L^d Pembroke will be Lieutenant of Ireland, L^d Lexington, or M^r Hill, Secretary in L^d Jersey's room.

You shall always find me, D^r S^r, y^r most obedient, ready Humble Serv^t,

R. STEELE.

Lastly, I desire to say that while these communications to the Proceedings of short and somewhat desultory selections from the Winthrop Papers—so many of which have been made, from time to time, in former years by my father, and latterly by me—have been generally considered to possess a certain interest and value, yet it must not be forgotten that the Society long ago undertook gradually to print in its Collections whole volumes of selections from these papers for the benefit of students of early New England history. The fourth and last of these volumes appeared more than four years ago, and it will require at least a year to get out another. As there is now a considerable balance to the credit of the publishing funds, it has been decided, after consultation with those members who are most familiar with these papers and most interested in Colonial and early Provincial history, to ask the Society to take the work again in hand.

Messrs. C. C. Smith, R. C. Winthrop, Jr., and E. Channing were then appointed a committee to prepare for the Collections a fifth volume of selections from the Winthrop Papers.

Mr. WINSOR drew attention to the latest development respecting the authorship of the pretended letters of Montcalm, in which he had predicted, in 1759, the revolt of the American colonies in case Canada was conquered, and the French should cease to exist on their borders to occupy the attention of these English colonists. Mr. Winsor said:—

It will be remembered that the interesting part of these letters was an extract from one purporting to have been written by a French spy in Boston, signed "S. J.," whose views were adopted by Montcalm in writing, Aug. 24, 1759, only a few weeks before his death, to M. Molé in Paris. The earliest trace which I have found of these letters is in December, 1775, when Hutchinson says, in his diary, that they were circulating in London in manuscript, and that he had no doubt they were spurious, inasmuch as the condition of things which "S. J." describes as existing in Boston in 1759 did not exist there, and could not have been chronicled at that time as existing. Two years later these letters were printed by Almon, in London, in what purported to be the French original text, with an English version adjoined. They were quoted in Parliament; and in a famous debate on the American question instigated by Chatham, and in which Shelburne contended for their fraudulent character, and Mansfield for their authenticity, Chatham, who as it now turns out knew their history, remained silent on that point.

After the war was over and the question of their authenticity was forgotten, some writers who found the book in libraries seemed to have no difficulty in accepting the letters as genuine; and in this category we find such historians as Carlyle in the first edition of his "Frederick the Great," Mahon in the original issue of his "England," Viscount Bury in his "Exodus of the Western Nations," and such writers on Canadian history as Garneau, Warburton, and Mills, as well as Barry in his "Massachusetts."

In 1869 Mr. Parkman reported to this Society,¹ on his examination of the Montcalm papers in France, where he had

¹ Proceedings, vol. xi. pp. 112-123.

found a copy of one of the letters in a handwriting which at that time was unknown to him. His conclusion, however, from internal evidence was that they were spurious. In printing the letter to Molé in the Proceedings, Dr. Deane, who was the editor, by collating the several texts reached the conclusion that the original was the English text, and not the pretended French, and inferred from this that the letter could not have been written by Montcalm. The question was taken up the next year (1870) by Henry Stevens in a long note in his "*Bibliotheca Historica*," in which he came to a similar decision.

About the same time a development was made which for the first time connected the Jesuit Roubaud with the letters. Mr. Henry B. Dawson had found among the papers of William Gowans, the New York bookseller, a paper entitled "Mr. Roubaud's Deplorable Case," and, submitting it to Dr. John G. Shea, that gentleman had prepared a brief introduction on Roubaud, and this and the document were printed in the "*Historical Magazine*" in November, 1870. Roubaud was a vagabond priest, who lived by his wits, and had been a Jesuit missionary in Canada, and during his career as such had been the occasion of considerable scandal. After the peace of 1763 he seems to have wormed his way into the confidence of General Murray, then commanding for the English in Quebec, and to have been sent — to accept one of the versions of his career — to England to assist the British ministry in adjusting a demand on the French Government, by which he afterwards claimed to have secured to the British treasury some such sum as a million pounds. At all events, we find him at this period in England, his religion changed, with a Protestant wife, still addicted to scandalous living, and dancing attendance on the ministry, and ready to do any dirty job for them for pay, but mostly without pay, as he afterwards claimed. This "Deplorable Case" is a document which Roubaud submitted to Lord North, recounting his services and setting forth his claims to a suitable consideration. In this he says that at his second audience at Court, after reaching England, he put into his Majesty's hands these letters of Montcalm, and at some subsequent day another copy of the same was given by him to the Queen, for which she paid him twelve guineas; and from this second copy he says that the printed

copy was made, "without my consent and against the laws of trust and honor;" and one of his grounds for compensation was that this publication exasperated the Court of Versailles against him, and made it proceed to acts of vengeance upon him. In this paper he says not a word against the genuineness of the letters.

The next discussion of the subject was by Mr. Parkman, in his recent "Montcalm and Wolfe" (vol. ii. pp. 325, 326), where, after depicting the doubtful character of Roubaud, in referring to this "Deplorable Case," he cites the Abbé Verreau as certifying that the copy found among the papers of Montcalm was in the handwriting of Roubaud, and as believing that this adventurer must have been the author of the letters.

If the fellow can be trusted in direct evidence, he was not the author. The Haldimand Papers have been for nearly thirty years in the British Museum, and contain the secret, which has so long lain undiscovered. The Dominion of Canada, having established in 1872 a Department of Archives, has been since then stocking it with copies of papers relating to their history from the great depositories of Europe. Among other things they have had copies made of the Haldimand Papers, as closely touching these annals, that general having been so long in Quebec, and for some years in command. As these copies have reached Ottawa, they have been calendared by Mr. Brymner, the Dominion Archivist, and he has printed this calendar in successive Annual Reports, which to most historical students have been buried by being made a part of the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture. Mr. Brymner found among these copies, and has given in his last report, a full abstract of a paper similar in tendency to the already known "Deplorable Case," which he calls a "Sketch of Mr. Roubaud's Petition for the Consideration of Parliament" (Haldimand Coll., B. 206, p. 45; Brymner's Report, 1885, p. cxxxviii), in which Roubaud flatly acknowledges the spuriousness of the Montcalm letters, and says they were written by "an Englishman," — confirming Dr. Deane's theory of their being first written in English, — and that their author was intimately known to Chatham, who it will be remembered had silently sat by in the Lords, and heard Shelburne and Mansfield dispute over their authenticity. It is most probable that Roubaud made the French counterpart; and I may add,

in conclusion, that Mr. Brymner, in the body of his Report, has sketched with considerable detail the wild and dramatic career of this vagabond Roubaud.

Mr. ROGER WOLCOTT communicated a memoir of the late Hon. James M. Robbins, which he had been appointed to prepare.

MEMOIR

OF THE

HON. JAMES MURRAY ROBBINS.

BY ROGER WOLCOTT.

JAMES MURRAY ROBBINS was born and died in the town of Milton. In him were united many strains of the old Puritan blood of the early migrations to the Colony. It was perhaps this inheritance which constrained him and many of his ancestors to be useful and prominent in town and State affairs, and which tended also to make his mind conservative of the old methods and ideas when called upon to meet new questions which the later years brought for solution.

His first ancestor bearing the name of Robbins in America was Richard, who, with his wife Rebecca, established himself on the southerly side of Charles River, in Cambridge.

The third son of Richard was Nathaniel, — born, as was his father, in Scotland, — who married Mary Brazier, and lies in the Old Cambridge burying-ground. His oldest son, Nathaniel, was born Feb. 28, 1678, and married Hannah, daughter of William Chandler, of Andover, and Mary Dane.

Their third son, born Aug. 11, 1703, was Thomas Robbins, whose second son, by his first wife, Ruth Johnson, was Nathaniel, born April 17, 1726 (H. U. 1747). After his graduation he pursued at Cambridge the study of theology, and in 1751 was ordained minister of the church in Milton, in which office he died May 19, 1795. During this long pastorate of forty-four years, covering the period of the War of the Revolution, he performed his duties both as minister and as citizen with zeal and self-devotion. His sympathy and support were given to the popular cause, and in 1788 he represented the town in the Convention which adopted the Federal Constitution. A good if not brilliant preacher, a healer of

strife whether between churches or individuals, a man of sagacity and penetration, possessed of "a very accurate acquaintance with human nature," "he carried his amiable quality so far that even when those were mentioned who were blasted and flagitious, it was his custom to suggest an extenuation if possible." From contemporary evidence, too, we are assured that "in prayer he was remarkable for copiousness and facility of expression, and at funerals in particular he was admired for a variety of pathetick sentiments pertinent to every person immediately concerned, and to each incident that occurred." His wife was Elizabeth, youngest child of the Hon. Edward Hutchinson, and Lydia, daughter of the Hon. John Foster, who was a leading merchant and for many years Councillor.

Edward Hutchinson came of a distinguished family, was for many years Judge of Probate for Suffolk County, and was Treasurer of Harvard College from 1726 until his death in 1752. He was uncle of Thomas Hutchinson, who has received undeserved opprobrium as the last royal governor of the Province. His father, Elisha Hutchinson, Representative, Assistant, and Councillor, was the son of Colonel Edward Hutchinson, who met his death in an ambuscade in King Philip's War. Colonel Hutchinson was the son of William Hutchinson and his more famous wife, Ann Marbury, whose heretical theology caused her banishment by the austere Puritanism of the Bay Colony, and who finally fell a victim, as did her son, to the tomahawk of the savage.

The oldest son of the Rev. Nathaniel and Elizabeth Robbins was Edward Hutchinson Robbins, born Feb. 19, 1758 (H. U. 1775). After admission to the bar in 1779 he established himself in Milton, and entered upon a long career of useful and honorable service to his native town and to the State. When only twenty-one years of age he was elected a delegate to the Convention which framed the Constitution of Massachusetts, being the youngest member of that distinguished body. For fourteen years he represented the town of Milton in the Legislature, and for nine years he occupied the Speaker's chair. For the performance of the duties of this position he was exceptionally qualified both by temperament and attainments. In 1795 he was appointed chairman of a commission to buy the necessary land and erect a new State House, the vote creating the commission also authorizing the

sale of the Province House and the release to the town of Boston of the State's interest in the old State House. For ninety years the structure then erected has well sustained the test of changing taste. In 1796 he was elected by the House of Representatives to the United States Senate; but in this choice the other branch of the Legislature failed to concur, on the ground that the commercial interests of the State should be represented by a merchant rather than by a lawyer, and Mr. Goodhue, of Salem, was finally elected by the two Houses. For four years he filled the office of Lieutenant-Governor during the official term of Governor Strong. He was for seventeen years Judge of Probate for Norfolk County, and throughout his long and useful life his services were in constant requisition, both in public and private station; for his integrity and sound judgment rendered them of great value. He early became deeply interested in the purchase and settlement of the Commonwealth lands in Maine, and for more than forty years made annual visits to the region near Passamaquoddy. The profit from these investments did not accrue in his lifetime; but his name is perpetuated in the town of Robbinston on the St. Croix River, which attained considerable importance as a shipbuilding and trading port, until the decline of this industry checked the town's growth and converted its population from a seafaring to an agricultural community.

In November, 1785, he married Miss Elizabeth Murray, daughter of the Hon. James Murray and Barbara Bennett. Mr. Murray emigrated from Philiphaugh, Scotland, where his grandfather was hereditary Sheriff of Selkirk, to North Carolina, and established himself as a planter on the Cape Fear River. He here became a member of the Council of that Province; but in 1765, having lost his wife and several children, he removed to Boston with his two surviving daughters, who afterwards became Mrs. John Forbes and Mrs. E. H. Robbins.

Mr. Murray's sister was the wife of James Smith, whose sugar-house stood next below Brattle Street Church, and was occupied as barracks by Colonel Dalrymple's regiment, whence Captain Preston's company marched to the Boston Massacre. After the death of Mr. Smith his widow gave to her two nieces the estate on Brush Hill in Milton, where, soon after

1734, Mr. Smith had built the house in which the subject of this memoir was to pass the greater part of his life. Edward Hutchinson Robbins died in Boston, Dec. 29, 1829, and was deeply mourned by his friends and neighbors.

James Murray Robbins, his sixth child, was born June 30, 1796, in the old Gooch house on Milton Hill. When he was nine years old his father removed from Milton Hill to Brush Hill within the same town, making his residence in the Smith house, which had become the property of his wife; and here, eighty years later, the son died. He received his school education at the Milton Academy, which his father had been largely instrumental in founding, and of whose Board of Trustees the father and son filled the office of President for seventy-six years. At the age of fifteen he entered the counting-room of the prominent Boston merchants James and Thomas Handasyd Perkins, and there acquired a thorough training in business habits.

But the time was not propitious for commercial enterprise or success; the wide-spread stagnation of business, consequent upon the blockade maintained by the British fleet, and the hardly less oppressive acts of our own Government, seemed to bar the way to entering upon the career of a merchant. In 1814 his cousin John Murray Forbes, who was Consul-General at Hamburg, invited him to accept official employment at the consulate; and it is not difficult to imagine how gladly the boy of eighteen must have exchanged the round of dull and apathetic duty in the counting-room for the excitement of the voyage and of foreign travel.

Nor was his journey to Hamburg devoid of incident. Passage was taken in a Swedish brig to sail from New York; and Mr. Robbins reached that city by the way of Albany, passing down the Hudson by steamer. While awaiting the sailing of the brig, he gave two days of volunteer service in throwing up intrenchments on Brooklyn Heights. The brig, after many delays, put to sea, but when off Block Island was captured by a British cruiser, and taken to Gardiner's Bay, where was the rendezvous of the squadron. On the ground that the vessel was owned in Connecticut, the Admiral adjudged her to be lawful prize, and, placing her under command of a prize-officer, ordered him to report at Plymouth, England. Mr. Robbins was the only American on board, and was there-

fore, unlike the others, made prisoner of war. On reaching the English port, however, his extreme youth, and, it is said, the kindly interest of some ladies who had been his fellow-passengers, interceded in his behalf, and he was released. It must be admitted that a considerable experience had been crowded into a brief time for the lad who had so recently left the provincial and beleaguered town of Boston.

On reaching London, the anxiety and perhaps suffering of the voyage were doubtless succeeded by admiration and wonder; for the great metropolis was celebrating with pageant and fête and every demonstration of popular rejoicing the return of European peace, and the relief which it brought from the intolerable burdens of almost universal war.

But the adventures which were to attend his journey to Hamburg were not yet ended. The vessel in which he soon again embarked in London for his destination, went ashore in a dense fog at the mouth of the Elbe. The wind was strong, and the danger of the vessel going to pieces was great; but after several hours of exposure the passengers and crew succeeded in effecting a landing, saving, however, from the wreck only the clothing they wore. They were upon an island, and found shelter in the light-house, until, some days after, a boat transported them to the mainland. After such adventures, and in a destitute condition, did Mr. Robbins at length reach Hamburg, where the warm greeting of his kinsman, Mr. Forbes, must have been not unwelcome to him. He at once set himself resolutely to learn the German language, entering for this purpose the family of a country clergyman, and eventually acquired a rare accuracy and facility both of expression and pronunciation.

In 1815 Mr. Forbes was summoned from his post of duty by Mr. John Quincy Adams for conference in regard to the negotiation of commercial treaties with foreign powers, and Mr. Robbins was left in charge of the consulate with the title of Vice-Consul. The peace was of short duration. The news of Napoleon's escape from Elba electrified Europe, and the weeks of fevered excitement which followed culminated at Waterloo. Soon the streets of Hamburg echoed the tread of Blücher's veterans; and at a civic banquet given to the victor, to which the representatives of all foreign governments were invited, the boy of nineteen represented the United States.

After Mr. Forbes's return to Hamburg, Mr. Robbins by his orders acted for some time as Consul at Elsinore, — a residence which could not have been barren of vivid and lasting impressions.

Mr. Forbes was subsequently transferred to Rio Janeiro; and Mr. Robbins, then about twenty-one, returned to Boston. In three years he had indeed seen much, had breathed the educating atmosphere of stirring events, and had learned the important lesson of self-reliance.

For two years he made voyages as supercargo to the West Indies and the Baltic in the interest of his old employers, and then entered into a partnership with his elder brother Edward Hutchinson Robbins for the manufacture and sale of woollen goods. In the commercial panic of 1829 the firm went down in the prevalent ruin, and Mr. Robbins seems then to have resolved never to expose himself to a recurrence of like ill-fortune. He did not again engage in business on his own account; but his peculiar fitness, acquired through the varied experience of these past years, led to his appointment by some of the leading woollen manufacturers of New England as agent for the purchase of wool in Germany. This transferred him again to the scene of his former official duties; and there he now spent a year and a half, for which he was liberally compensated.

Before his departure he had, with the help of a guide, made a careful and extended survey of a large part of the almost untrodden wilderness of Maine, led thereto by his father's large interests in the pine forests of Passamaquoddy; and, impressed by the future importance of this product, he had himself secured, by purchase from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, a tract of 20,000 acres near the Schoodic Lakes. On his return from Germany in 1834 — although the days had not yet come of the great speculation in Maine lands, which was to prove so disastrous to many — he was able to sell this land at a very large advance upon the purchase money.

In the same year he married Frances Mary Harris, daughter of Abel Harris, of Portsmouth, and Rooksby Coffin, daughter of William Coffin, of Boston, a cousin of Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin. They had no children; but the marriage proved a most happy one, and Mrs. Robbins's death in 1870 was a deep and enduring grief to him.

The sale of his Maine estates was a most fortunate transaction; for it furnished the means of realizing his long-cherished wish of becoming the sole owner of the old homestead on Brush Hill, where much of his boyhood had been passed, and which was endeared to him not more by its rare beauty of location than by the memory of the large family circle which had gathered about its hearthstone, and of the long list of guests — many of them the distinguished men of the time — whom his father's almost lavish hospitality had there brought together. This was his home during the remainder of his life. His love for it was a passion. It forbade change, which in his eyes could never seem improvement. The old buildings, the fences and walls, were to remain as they were in his boyhood. The old trees, many of them imported elms, generously planted by former generations, — nay, their very saplings, — should be untouched by the axe so long as he should live; and the fine fringe of trees which everywhere skirts the lichen-covered stone walls of the estate attests his vigilant guardianship. The extensive view from the house, including the distant blue of the harbor, the twin church spires, the wooded range of the Blue Hills, and the broad and verdant meadows, was always a source of keen enjoyment to him.

Once, however, his treasured possessions were threatened by a great danger, which roused him to the fullest activity in their defence. The new and vigorous town of Hyde Park, spreading with the rapid growth of a manufacturing community, sought the authority of the Legislature to add to its territory by annexing a portion of Milton, including Mr. Robbins's estate. His energetic opposition to this project and his untiring efforts to defeat it were successful. In the town of Milton he had been born, and in the town of Milton he would die.

This was not the only service he rendered to the town of his birth, for which his affection was always so strong. In 1837 and again in 1861 he represented Milton in the General Court, and in 1842 was one of the senators from Norfolk County. He was frequently called to serve upon committees whenever the interests of the town were involved or important action was to be taken, and his judgment was always considered to carry much weight and influence. Originally a Whig, he joined the Republican party at its formation, and

thereafter consistently acted with it, although not without criticism of some of its most important tendencies and measures. His wife had long shared the opinions and counsels of the anti-slavery leaders; and in him was awakened a sense of indignant resentment by the assault upon Charles Sumner in the Senate-chamber. In the demonstration made by the citizens of Boston upon Mr. Sumner's return, Mr. Robbins bore a prominent part.

While a young man he developed a strong taste for historical and antiquarian research, and throughout life this taste directed much of his reading and thought. He made a careful and leisurely exploration of Dorsetshire, England, whence came so many of the first settlers of Massachusetts Bay, and made his mind a storehouse of accurate information touching the families and events which had illustrated the early history of the New England town of Dorchester. When this history was written in 1859, he was the author of the first six chapters. In 1862 he accepted the invitation of the town of Milton to deliver the address at the celebration of its two hundredth year. In this address he traces in much detail the lives of the prominent early and later inhabitants of the town, giving abundant proof of his wide information regarding family history, and of his patience in research and exactness in statement. By vote of the town in 1883 he was made chairman of a committee appointed to prepare a history of Milton, and to him were referred the early pages of this work for correction and elucidation. In spite of his great age at this time, his co-laborers in the work bear willing testimony to the extreme value of the aid thus rendered. In 1860 he was elected a Resident Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and in this association he found always much interest and enjoyment.

But as the years went on, the naturally conservative tendency of Mr. Robbins's mind led him to withdraw himself in great measure from active participation in the affairs of men. He praised the time that is past, and looked forward with apprehension to the time that is to come. To borrow Mr. Lowell's thought, evolution in his view too often took on its lacking initial, and wore the threatening aspect of revolution. He failed to perceive the logical necessity of social and political change; and as he looked forth upon the passing events

of the time, he deemed himself gazing upon the turbulence of the rapids, just above the fateful plunge of the cataract. As he could not stay the current, he sheltered himself more and more within the seclusion of his beautiful estate, and with no trace of bitterness or cynicism devoted himself to the life of a country gentleman, finding pleasure in his acres and venerable trees, reading and studying as his inclination directed, and living in friendly and helpful intercourse with his neighbors.

His bearing and manner were dignified and genial. In his old age his dress and appearance seemed to reflect the unchanging stability and respectable antiquity of his opinions. His figure was sturdy and erect, his features massive, and his smile ready and pleasing. Through judicious management his property was much increased, and he left a large estate.

Until within two years of his death, at the ripe age of eighty-nine years and four months, he retained in a remarkable degree his vigor both of body and mind. He died on Monday, Nov. 2, 1885, in the home he had loved so well, and was buried, as were his father and grandfather, in the cemetery of the town which the three generations had served and honored. With him disappeared the family name, which for one hundred and thirty-five years had been held in respect and affection by his fellow-townsmen.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1887.

THE regular meeting was held on Thursday afternoon, the 10th instant, with Dr. ELLIS, the President, in the chair.

The report of the previous meeting was read by the Secretary.

The Librarian submitted the monthly list of gifts to the Library; among them being a set of Longfellow's works in eleven volumes, from Mr. Horace E. Scudder, and several manuscript papers relating to the voyage of the "Columbia," the first ship under the American flag to circumnavigate the globe, from Mr. Charles H. Joy, of this city.

The Corresponding Secretary stated that he had received Mr. Charles G. Loring's acceptance of his election as a Resident Member, and he read a letter from Professor Creighton accepting Corresponding Membership.

The Rev. Octavius B. Frothingham, of this city, was chosen a Resident Member.

A communication was read by the President from Mr. Charles Henry Hart, of Philadelphia, a Corresponding Member, in which the writer expresses his surprise and annoyance that Major James Walter, in a letter to the "Philadelphia Times" dated January 17, should have made certain references to him with regard to the alleged Sharpless portraits of Washington. Mr. Hart declares that although he, in common with others, was much struck with the freshness of the paintings and the artistic qualities which they possessed, Sharpless having been known in this country only as an indifferent but prolific pasteldraughtsman, the statements made in this letter were wholly the invention of the Major's fertile brain, without a scintilla of truth to warrant them, and that the manner in which he interpolated into Mr. Hart's letter certain words affirming the authenticity of the pictures showed how ready he has been to make all ends serve him.

Mr. LORING, being called upon for his opinion, expressed his belief that the exhibitor of the pictures was entirely untrustworthy; but he added that the profile portraits of Wash-

ington and his wife may have had some foundation in fact, inasmuch as they bear a certain resemblance to the crayon drawings of Sharpless. Yet it is evident that they have been painted over recently, since the color of the eyes has been changed. The full-face representation, however, never had any foundation, and was a pure invention of recent date.

Mr. PARKMAN confirmed this view, — that the two profiles might have been based upon drawings originally made by Sharpless, which were finished afterward, some sketch having been obtained from which the profiles had been worked up.

The PRESIDENT read a communication written to Mr. S. H. Russell, of this city, by the British consul-general of Algiers, proposing that citizens of the United States should contribute to the placing of a tablet in the church at the consulate in memory of Commodore Stephen Decatur, who conducted the first treaty with the Barbary States; the tablet to be erected on the 20th of June, 1887, when the jubilee of Queen Victoria will be celebrated.

The PRESIDENT also read a letter from the Hon. John Bigelow, of New York, who urged the importance of calling the attention of members of Congress to the bill for the preparation of a descriptive catalogue of documents in European archives relating to American affairs between the years 1763 and 1783.

Mr. PARKMAN and Mr. GOODELL expressed the hope that this suggestion would be acted upon by Dr. Ellis, as representing the Society.

The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP then said:—

The recent commemoration of the foundation of Harvard College led some of us, I doubt not, — as it certainly did myself, — to review our relations to our Alma Mater, and to recall incidents which had almost escaped our memory. One of the incidents which I have recalled may, perhaps, be interesting to others.

The destruction of the Ursuline Convent, in what is now Somerville, occurred on the night of Aug. 11, 1834. It was the work of a lawless mob, and I am sorry to remember that little or no effort was made by the civil authorities to arrest such atrocious proceedings. I was one of a Committee of Investigation of thirty members, of which the late Charles G.

Loring was chairman; and we attended daily sittings for several weeks, in the Old State House, for the examination of the witnesses of the transaction. Our Report was printed at the time, and is doubtless to be found among the pamphlets in the Library of this Society.

The destruction of the convent naturally occasioned great popular excitement. The foreign population of our city and its neighborhood, and especially the Roman Catholic population, were deeply moved. Rumors that some act of vengeance would be perpetrated were soon rife, and were too readily credited. Among the earliest of those rumors was one that the Library of Harvard College was doomed to assault and destruction by the Irish Roman Catholics. An early night was named for this act of vengeance, and measures were at once quietly taken to guard against its success. Some forty or fifty graduates of Harvard were hastily summoned to the rescue. It was arranged that they should repair separately to the Library at Cambridge, each one with a musket and ball-cartridges, at sundown of the appointed day, and be prepared for organization and action. The late Hon. Franklin Dexter was agreed upon as the commander of the party, and I was selected as his first lieutenant, and we were both at our posts.

There was no Gore Hall in those days. The Library was in Old Harvard Hall; and there we assembled at early dusk, and remained all night. Sentinels were stationed at the doors and windows, patrols were sent out on the streets and roads, and every preparation was made for defending the building and the books at all hazards. More than once during the night rumors reached us of a mob approaching. At one time there came a man on horseback at full speed announcing that a thousand infuriated Irishmen were coming along the Charlestown road, and were hardly more than a mile off! There was, of course, no sleep for any of us that night; but the morning came without our having been disturbed by anything but false alarms, and we all returned home quietly before breakfast.

I cannot recall the names of the Harvard graduates who were out on that service; but I remember that my friend George L. Schuyler, still living at New York, and who was not a graduate, asked leave to join the party, and was with us on the occasion. I cannot fix the precise date of the expedi-

tion; it was only a day or two after the destruction of the convent. It was thought important to say as little as possible about it, for fear of prompting the very assault we desired to avert, and I know not that it was ever mentioned in the newspapers.

Now that more than fifty years have elapsed, it may fairly be included in the history of the College Library. But let me not conclude this little narrative without saying that, so far from there being any attempt to wreak vengeance on Harvard College or any other institution, the Irish and the Roman Catholics, under the wise counsel of the Bishop, exhibited great moderation and forbearance at that exciting moment, and conducted themselves in a manner to win the respect and sympathy of all their fellow-citizens.

I may be pardoned for remembering that the very first elaborate speech which I made, after taking my seat in the House of Representatives of Massachusetts the next year,¹ was a speech in favor of indemnifying the owners of the convent, on the ground that no protection was offered or attempted by the civil authorities of the State on that terrible night. And although indemnification was then denied by our Legislature, after a long and heated debate, I am glad to remember also that a law was enacted, four years afterwards, making towns and cities responsible to the amount of three quarters of the value of any property destroyed by rioters within their limits. This was one of the good fruits of the debate on the Convent Riot; but I forbear from dwelling further on the subject. I designed only to give a brief reminiscence of a Night in the Library of Harvard College.

Dr. ELLIS added his recollections, and spoke of an interview he once had with Pope Gregory XVI., in which allusion was made to the burning of the Ursuline Convent.

Mr. YOUNG referred to a very interesting account of the attack made upon the convent, which had been written and privately printed by the late Louisa Goddard Whitney, wife of Professor Josiah D. Whitney, of Cambridge, who was at the time an inmate of the institution.²

¹ Winthrop's Addresses and Speeches, vol. i. pp. 174-186.

² The Burning of the Convent. A Narrative of the Destruction, by a Mob, of the Ursuline School on Mount Benedict, Charlestown, as remembered by one of the Pupils. Cambridge, Mass. Printed by Welch, Bigelow, & Co. 1877.

Mr. LEE mentioned that he was present at the trial of one of the rioters, when the judge delivered a strong charge to the jury; but they refused to convict.

Mr. EDWARD J. LOWELL communicated the following paper on "German Manuscript Sources for the History of the Revolutionary War:"—

The richest mine in Germany of manuscript documents on the subject of the Revolutionary War is that which is found in the archives of the Prussian province of Hesse-Nassau, at Marburg. Here are preserved the reports and journals which Landgrave Frederick II. of Hesse-Cassel received from his officers during the war. On making inquiries of Dr. Könnecke, the learned and courteous keeper of these archives, I was informed that no separate catalogue of the papers concerning the Revolutionary War had been made up; and that to make such a catalogue would, according to his reckoning, take two hundred hours of time, and cost six hundred marks, as thousands of documents would have to be noted. On further inquiry, he informed me that the archives contained thirty-seven regimental journals and twelve volumes (bound and unbound) of papers, each volume being ten centimetres thick, beside documents scattered in other departments of the archives, and more especially under the heading "England."

The documents at Marburg have twice been the subject of long notices in the New York "Nation." The first of these notices, from the pen of Friedrich Kapp, appeared in the number for Aug. 3, 1882; the second notice, by another hand, in that of July 15, 1886.

Many months would be required for an adequate examination of the papers at Marburg, and for transcribing such portions of them as are important. The labor, however, would be interesting, and the life, at least during the season of fine weather, not disagreeable. Marburg is situated on the railroad between Frankfort and Cassel, and about sixty miles from either place. The picturesque university town clings to the side of a steep hill, surmounted by the fine old castle, where the archives are kept. The neighborhood is pretty; the inn fair. The scholar who should undertake to examine the manuscripts would need a pretty good knowledge of the German language, with some familiarity with the puzzling

German handwriting, knowledge of the history of the Revolution, accuracy, patience, and a strong digestion. Without the last advantage no one should venture in Germany far from the large cities.

Next to the collection at Marburg is that in the Ständische Landesbibliothek at Cassel. Here are twenty-five manuscripts, most of them copies. How many would turn out to be duplicates or copies of originals at Marburg, it is impossible to say until a catalogue of the Marburg collection shall have been made. Certainly all are not so.

In the archives of the War Department at Berlin are thirteen letters from German officers in America, beside documents and correspondence concerning the treaty between King George III. and the Prince of Hesse-Hanau, and sundry reports concerning strictly technical and military matters.

In the library of the Prince of Waldeck at Arolsen is a fragment of a journal of the Waldeck Regiment. It deals with a part of the adventures of that regiment in Florida, being by far the fullest account known to me of the almost forgotten siege of Pensacola by the Spaniards, except the account given by Max von Eelking, which is taken from two manuscripts whose whereabouts I do not know, which are cited in his list of authorities.

The archives of the War Department of Brunswick for the time in question have unfortunately been burned; and the library at Wolfenbüttel contains no manuscripts concerning this war.

I have seen somewhere (in Kapp's book, I think) a mention of the archives of Anspach-Bayreuth. Whether these are to be sought in Anspach, or elsewhere, I cannot tell. The Historical Society of Anspach has a manuscript journal, but some years ago refused to have it copied, on the ground that a member of the Society was intending to publish it. I have not yet heard of its appearance in print.

In addition to the manuscripts in public archives and libraries above mentioned, there are several in private hands. The list of authorities in Eelking's "Hülfsstrappen" contains the names of some of these.

The nature and historical value of the manuscripts are various. There are among them dry reports, from which all interesting information seems to have been carefully excluded; and

chatty, familiar letters or journals, intended only for the eyes of the writer and his intimate friends. Some of these documents are probably worth translating and printing entire. Many certainly are not so; but from the driest some useful facts may be gleaned. It would seem worth while that in the course of time all should be examined and catalogued, and that copies should be taken of the more important, which copies should be placed in the keeping of the United States Government or of one of our American Historical Societies.

It is not probable that anything can be added to our knowledge of the great events of the American Revolution; but we have still much to learn concerning the social condition of our ancestors and the appearance of the country. Nowhere are these things more fully described than in the writings of the large number of German officers who spent seven or eight long years in America, mixing on friendly terms with the Tory inhabitants in some places, and forcing their unwelcome company on the rebel farmers and citizens elsewhere.

Dr. CHANNING alluded to a recent history of New England in two volumes, by Mr. J. A. Doyle, Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, and entitled "The English in America: The Puritans."

Mr. CHASE stated that in the list of statues, busts, and portraits of Daniel Webster, published a year ago in the Society's Proceedings, there was an omission of a bust of heroic size, executed by Thomas Ball between 1852 and 1856, which came into his father's possession, and was now owned by him.

The PRESIDENT announced that Mr. John T. Morse, Jr., had been appointed to prepare a memoir of the late Hon. Charles Francis Adams.

Dr. OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES presented a fac-simile of a letter of the sixth Earl of Northumberland; of a portion of the Drake manuscript, 1644; and of the entry of Thomas Harvard, brother of John Harvard, as apprentice into the Clothworkers' Company, Sept. 11, 1627, and his admission as a freeman into the same company, Dec. 3, 1634.

The PRESIDENT asked a question, to which, he said, he might have looked for an answer had Dr. Deane been present. As the Court had admitted freemen previous to May 18, 1631, when the order restricting the franchise to church-members was passed, he wished to know its effect upon them, whether

it disfranchised them. They may have voted against the order ; or men, such as Maverick and Blackstone, made free-men in the previous October, may not have been present. "The full consent of all the Commons then present" at the Court appears to have been given to the order. There were seven of the Assistants or Magistrates present.

A memoir of the late Charles C. Perkins by Dr. Samuel Eliot, and a memoir of the late Francis E. Parker by Mr. Bangs, were communicated to the Society.

A new serial, containing the Proceedings from October to January inclusive, was laid on the table by the Recording Secretary.



J. Wilson Sc.

Charles C. Perkins.

MEMOIR
OF
CHARLES CALLAHAN PERKINS, A.M.

BY SAMUEL ELIOT.

CHARLES CALLAHAN PERKINS, son of James and Eliza Greene (Callahan) Perkins, was born in Pearl Street, Boston, March 1, 1823. It was a few months after the death of his grandfather, James Perkins, one of the last acts of whose honorable life was the gift of his large and handsome house in Pearl Street to the Boston Athenæum. The motive of this "unexampled munificence," as it was then described, was "a consideration of the importance of the diffusion of knowledge to the liberty and happiness of any community." In 1826 Thomas H. Perkins, the brother, and James, the son of James, each offered to the Athenæum the gift of \$8,000, on condition that a like sum should be subscribed by others not of the family; and each gave in addition \$500 for the purpose of adding the Transactions of London and Paris Societies to the Library. These are facts of influence in the biography now to be sketched. They show the tone of the family, the interest in literature and art, of which the Athenæum was the chief if not the sole representative, and the public spirit expressing itself not only in words but in deeds; all these being traits that entered richly and deeply into the character and the career of Charles Perkins.

He was born into a choice position, and his earliest years were full of sunshine. As a mere child he showed a strong sensibility to beauty of form and sound. He learned to draw and play upon the piano at an age remarkably youthful in a period of very little artistic cultivation. His powers were not so exceptional as his tastes, but these were strong enough to prove the principal factors in his training. He was taught at various schools, and by some very poor as well as by one or two good teachers, in the ordinary preparation, at that period

extremely imperfect, for Harvard College. He was chiefly his own teacher in the æsthetic pursuits which most interested him. College did more for him than the schools before it, but not very much. The studies then dominant and exclusive were not all congenial to him, and his scholarship, so far as academic, was of a very moderate strain when he took his degree in 1843; but he had set his mind on a much larger education than he had as yet received.

His character already showed many of its life-long traits. He was not always during his youth favorably situated for the development of his natural gifts; but they broke through discouragements, and flowered in constantly increasing charm. Inheriting from his mother, a lovely and amiable woman, both beauty of countenance and graciousness of manner, he was attractive in person, and won friends among all sorts and conditions of men. Enthusiastic, even ardent, but perfectly simple, eager to enjoy, and as eager that others should enjoy what he did, he was a delightful companion. Those who knew him best thought the most of him. They appreciated his sweetness of disposition, his sense of honor, his purity, his desire to live uprightly and generously. Not blind to his defects, or dreaming that his nature had reached or closely approached maturity, his kindred and intimate friends thought him, and had every reason to think him, one of the most promising of our young men.

His plans for the years following his graduation were not such as to be generally favored or approved in Boston at that era. He was to go abroad, and to stay for an indefinite time, in order to study the fine arts. But going abroad or living abroad was then thought among us to be mere self-indulgence; while Art was commonly regarded as a very dim and uncertain light, a mere will-o'-the-wisp, the pursuit of which was worse than fruitless. It is difficult to carry one's self back to the ideas and expressions of those days. An artist was really considered by many good people to be a man who had taken to Art because he was fit for nothing better. An amateur was held below the average in ability; a dilettante, seldom spoken of, and usually misnamed when named at all, was supposed to be wanting in principle. There were exceptions, of course, and signal ones; but the temper of the community, as a whole, was severe toward any one who ventured to make a profession,

or even a study, of music, or painting, or anything whatever called Art. Charles Perkins was far from the first to be independent of this public opinion. There was more than one example before him, — none more illustrious than that of Allston, who died at Cambridge in the very summer when Charles left college and was preparing to sail for Europe. Still, it required courage, and not a little, for him to resolve, as he did, upon a path which he knew he must tread without the sympathy of many near him, — many, but by no means all. He was blessed in his family with the most tender and undoubting love, and whatever he chose to do would be chosen for him by these loving hearts. He was peculiarly dependent upon others' kindness. His spirit was sensitive and clinging, — easily, too easily, wounded, and often discouraged; so that, however he might be approved by some of those upon whose affection he most depended, it was a trial to be disapproved by others, and called for more confidence in himself than he had been wont to repose. He was in a position, outwardly, of entire independence. The fortune bequeathed to him freed him from all concern about his expenses, and enabled him to travel where he pleased and to study as he pleased. He could command the best teachers, the most helpful methods, the most abundant resources; and he availed himself of them. To him wealth was no snare, no temptation to be idle, but, on the contrary, an inspiration to labor long and well.

To bring out the chief events of his life more clearly, it is proposed to group them in three parts, — the first from 1843 to 1851, the second from 1851 to 1857, and the third from 1857 to the end. These are unequal divisions, but the inequality corresponds to the comparative importance of each.

He went abroad in the early autumn of 1843, and soon after arriving in Europe wrote: —

"I hope that my pilgrimage to Rome may be perfected in a sufficiently humble spirit. I do feel that I know nothing, that I have everything to learn, that the foundations are not yet laid. Rome and its studies look quite as attractive to me, and even more so than when I left you. I never felt so well, so full of life before."

In this modest and yet earnest spirit he began his work at Rome. It was real work. His time was laid out carefully, and filled, day by day and hour by hour, with industrious

labors, chiefly in drawing and painting. The second winter he had a studio, where he spent many hours daily, painting from models. He was fortunate during the earlier winter in the constant companionship of the American sculptor Crawford, a man of vigorous imagination, pursuing his art through disappointment and poverty. His newly arrived countryman became his friend and patron, giving him an order for the group of Hebe and Ganymede, afterwards presented to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. This lifted the sculptor from the depths of depressing struggle, and great was his gratitude. Great also was the return he could make to his friend by encouraging and guiding the studies in Art hitherto uncounselled and uninspired. Crawford was not the only object of interest and liberality. An Italian engraver, who had made some beautiful drawings from Correggio's frescos, was without the means of support while engraving them until Perkins came to his assistance. In such works of kindness as these the residence at Rome was even more fruitful than in merely artistic studies, however perseveringly they were maintained. At the beginning of the third winter he wrote:—

"I look upon myself as having taken up Art as a profession entailing constant application upon me."

The summer of 1846 was passed at home, and in the autumn he settled himself in Paris, with a studio of his own, as the pupil of Ary Scheffer. He presently writes:—

"I think my views and purposes grow clearer every month about my own duty, and the chances I have for doing good at home. God willing, we will accomplish something."

A few weeks later:—

"It is hard we cannot have some music in America; but such an evil, I hope, can be remedied by energy and perseverance, and you will see by and by; if my hopes and desires are not deceived, how I shall help to organize musical meetings and an Academy of Design in our modern Athens. I have realized more these past few months what lies before me to do. The remedies as well as the needs begin to present themselves; and it is too common a fault with me to see only the latter, and to wonder why things do not grow better without helping them to do so."

The opera, the Conservatoire, and the chamber concerts of Paris had quickened his love and knowledge of music, to

which he henceforth gave a larger part of his time. He began to compose, and wrote several taking melodies and a few more serious works, some of which were afterwards performed at a public concert to the acceptance of the Parisian musical critics. One of them in noticing the concert warns the young composer against attempting to succeed in music as well as painting, and bids him choose between the two. Meantime, as always, his thoughts and purposes turned homeward. He writes in July, 1847:—

“Do not be afraid of my losing the hope and belief of by and by settling myself at home with the purpose of doing artistic good in my day and generation. I build castles in the air of a future Academy of Fine Arts to be set going, and am more and more convinced that there is a glorious chance of worthily immortalizing one's self in our country by being the first to set such a work systematically in operation. But the man who undertakes it must know enough not to build his house on the sand.”

A month after:—

“I pray fervently that God will give me the power to curb my soul down to a patient and scrupulously careful system of work.”

These extracts show very plainly that he was studying with a definite object, and that this object was the encouragement of Art in the United States. He had it in view before he left home, as well as after, and he never allowed it to fade out of sight. When he returned in 1849 to live at home at least for a time, he began to carry out his purposes. He took the advice of his Paris critic; and though not abandoning painting altogether, and keeping up his drawing uninterruptedly, he made music his chief interest now and for the next ten years. He studied, practised, and composed. He gathered the few good musicians then in Boston about him, and with their aid gave frequent chamber concerts at his residence. In 1850 he was elected President of the Handel and Haydn Society, and served as conductor at one or more of the public performances of that body. He appeared in the same capacity at a concert of his own, at which some of his compositions were performed and much applauded. And thus the first period of his manhood reached its close in 1851, with not only the promise but the fulfilment of usefulness and honor among his own people.

In May, 1851, he again crossed the ocean with the special design of studying music in Germany. He became the pupil of Moscheles, professor of the pianoforte in the Conservatorium of Leipsic, and continued for many months to enjoy and improve his new opportunities. A quartet of his composition was sent home, and brought out in the winter of 1853 by his friends of the Mendelssohn Quintette Club. It is described in "Dwight's Journal of Music" as containing themes of much more than ordinary tastefulness and originality. The Andante is singled out as the movement in which the composer did himself the greatest credit, and it is added: "The Andante movements of all his compositions have always appeared to us the most successful. They bear a mark of their own." After an absence of three years marked by habitual industry, he returned in the autumn of 1854, to pass three years at home.

June 12, 1855, was the day of his marriage to Miss Frances D. Bruen, daughter of the late Rev. Matthias Bruen, of New York. The next year, his first-born child crowned his happiness. Two other children were given him, and he had the felicity of seeing all the three grow to manhood and womanhood. When in Boston during these three years, he lived very much as he had done in his last home sojourn. He was the centre of a musical circle, both in public and in private, with an influence constantly spreading in behalf of his chosen art. The enterprise of building a Music Hall was welcomed by him with enthusiasm, and he made the largest subscription in its support. When the hall was built he presented a bronze statue of Beethoven, of which his friend Crawford gave the model, — for the sake, as Crawford said, of his friendship, notwithstanding all possible urgency that he should treat the order given him as he would any other commission. Nor did Perkins confine his good works to music or to Boston. In June, 1857, he gave a short course of lectures in Trinity College, Hartford, where he had accepted an appointment as lecturer on Art, without pay. His subject was the "Rise and Progress of Painting to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century." He was warmly greeted at the college. "It ought to be," was the language of an article in the principal Hartford newspaper, "a matter of congratulation to every member and friend of Trinity College that she has committed the department of Art to the willing hands of one of the very first art-scholars

in the country. Mr. Perkins has not only studied under great masters, but he has carried out his studies, developing them and making them his own, until he has reached a degree of artistic culture rare anywhere, and almost unknown among our people. He comes in the most disinterested spirit to aid us in our culture, to quicken our college, and to serve, extend, and strengthen the cause of Art."

These lectures proved to be a turning-point in Charles Perkins's career. Perhaps the consciousness of not reaching his ideal as a composer or performer in music brought about the change. In his visions there was

"A grain of glory mixed with humbleness,"

and the humble element often preponderated. But the success of his Hartford lectures was striking; and from the time of their delivery through all the years that lay before him, he was neither painter nor musician by profession, but a writer and a speaker upon Art.

This new period — the third and much the longest of the three — began with the lectures, soon after which he went with his family to Europe, where he resided, chiefly in Italy and France, for the next twelve years. He made the acquaintance and instantly won the friendship of Alexis François Rio, the writer on Christian Art, whose counsels were as helpful as his sympathies. The young American interested him, and was led under his advice to the investigations which resulted in the "Tuscan Sculptors," a work in two volumes, published in London in 1864. It was appropriately dedicated to Rio, "in token of the Author's admiration and affectionate regard." The preface alludes to the very limited number of works upon Italian sculpture, and thus goes on: —

"It has seemed to me that a space remained to be filled in the literature of Art. . . . With this object I have taken pains to see whatever is most worthy of notice, and to make drawings and collect photographs throughout Italy; and from them I have selected and executed a series of illustrations which may give an idea of the progress of the Art whose history I have endeavored to make as correct as possible by the examination of all manuscripts, books, and pamphlets connected with the subject. The result of my journeys and researches, as far as they concern Tuscany, is contained in these volumes; the remainder, relating to Northern, Southern, and Eastern Italy, I hope at some future time to publish in a similar form."

This hope was fulfilled by the publication of "Italian Sculptors," in a single volume, in London in 1868. Both works are based, as he states, upon his own researches in churches, museums, galleries, and libraries. Both are historical, connecting the lives of the sculptors with their times; both, therefore, are planned on a broad scale. "Tuscan Sculptors" begins with an introduction on early Italian Sculpture, and then takes up the life and labors of Niccolò Pisano, born at the opening of the thirteenth century. The last of the sculptors described in the work is Gian Bologna, who died at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The churches of Apulia and their sculptures in the eleventh century are described at the beginning of "Italian Sculptors;" and thence the story of sculpture in Italy, exclusive of Tuscany, is followed through the fifteenth century. Illustrations drawn and etched by the author, and others drawn by him but engraved on wood by other hands, enrich all the three volumes. No previous works of similar character had ever come from an American; and none of precisely the same character—that is, relating as fully to Italian sculpture—had appeared from any hand. They were accepted then, and have stood ever since, as original contributions to the history of Art. Most later art-writers—Italian, German, French, and English, and many authors of books of travel have referred to Perkins as an authority. Mr. Hare's works on Italy, the Misses Horner's "Walks in Florence," and Murray's Italian Handbooks borrow much information from "Tuscan Sculptors" and "Italian Sculptors." About the time of publication of the latter work, the author was elected Corresponding Member of the French Institute,—a signal proof of the high honor he had won. Judged by any standard the honor was deserved.

"'T is not what man does that exalts him,
But what man would do;"

and no one who knew Perkins, even through his books alone, could doubt that he was intent on doing, so far as he was able, the very best things for Art.

In 1869 he returned home, and there remained, with the exception of a brief visit to Europe in the summer of 1881, during the rest of his life. This is the time on which we would fain dwell at greater length. It is the harvest season in which

the fruits of the spring sowing and the summer planting are gathered and distributed. Let us try to classify them.

First, the later writings. In 1872 he edited with notes an American reprint of Eastlake's "Hints on Household Taste." "Although addressed to Englishmen," says the editor's preface, "there is hardly a sentence in it, apart from some local allusions, which may not be read by Americans as if directly intended for them." Another work, bearing on the same subject, from the German of Von Falke, entitled "Art in the House," and profusely illustrated, was edited and annotated by Perkins, and published in 1879.

Before this, in 1878, he brought out in Boston "Raphael and Michelangelo; A Critical and Biographical Essay," dedicated to Henry W. Longfellow, whose previously unpublished versions of Michelangelo's poems occupied honored places in this volume. The author speaks modestly of the possibility that his work "may at first sight seem superfluous," and adds:—

"My chief reason for hoping that it will not be so considered is that, as far as I know, Raphael and Michelangelo are here for the first time treated of conjointly, so far as facts allow, and opportunity for bringing out the distinctive peculiarities of each by force of contrast has thus been afforded."

The book is illustrated partly by heliotypes from engravings and partly by wood-cuts from the author's designs. It is less historical than the previous works; but biography takes the place of history, and the narrative of events accompanies descriptions and criticisms of the works of the great masters. It did not meet with as strong or as general approval as "Tuscan Sculptors," or "Italian Sculptors" nor could it claim the originality of research and description characteristic of those volumes.

The materials of the two earlier works were used in the preparation of the "Historical Handbook of Italian Sculpture," published in 1883 in New York and London. The idea of the Handbook was to bring into a single and available volume all the important portions of the three original volumes, with whatever had been added to the knowledge of their subject since their publication. It is not, therefore, a distinctly new work, but one going over the same ground, and in much

the same language as before, but not, unfortunately, with the same illustrations, those now used being of a very low grade of wood engraving. It has been suggested, in one of the many appreciative notices of the author since his death, that an appropriate memorial to him would be the reissue of the Handbook with illustrations more befitting it and him. He was not answerable for those to which exception has been taken, but, on the contrary, deplored their unfitness, though unable to remedy it. The Handbook was intended in part for the use of travelers in Italy, and to this end was provided with an Index to Towns on which the author bestowed much care and labor. This feature was particularly commended in some European notices of the book.

In 1886 a handsome quarto volume in French, upon "*Ghiberti et Son École*," appeared in Paris from our author's industrious pen. It is one of the series known as the *Bibliothèque Internationale de l'Art*. It describes Lorenzo Ghiberti personally and professionally; tells of the famous gates of the Florence Baptistery, the competition for the order to make them, Ghiberti's success in obtaining it, and his life-long labor from early manhood to old age in executing it. The family and pupils of the great artist are described in the closing chapter. Warm praise has been given to this book in both French and English journals; but, not having been reprinted or translated in the United States, it is little known here,—so little that a recent writer, while eulogizing the author's earlier works, thinks that this one has not yet been published. It has been more recently noticed in a New York journal.

"Ghiberti" was his last independent publication. To complete the list of his more important writings, we may go back a year or two, and record the "Introductory Notice to the Sepulchral Monuments of Italy." This was one of the Arundel Society's issues, and the titlepage of the numbers successively published bore the name of G. E. Street, R.A., as furnishing an introduction. That distinguished architect dying before preparing his essay, his notes and papers were transferred to Perkins, as the writer best fitted to take his place. They contained many cordial allusions to Perkins as an authority upon Italian Art which did not of course appear in Perkins's introduction. His selection by such a society for such an office was one of the most gratifying recognitions he ever received.

The number containing his paper appeared in 1883. In 1885 he became one of the Special Editors of the "American Journal of Archæology," and was a frequent contributor to its pages. In 1886 the "Cyclopædia of Painters and Paintings" was published, with his name as Critical Editor; and his contributions to this work were the last of his labors in the cause of Art. For twenty-two years he had been before the public of Europe and America as an art-writer, and as such he had won a place of his own. In general and in technical knowledge he was fully equipped for his work, and the value of it was recognized wherever Art found students or lovers. In all his literary productions he appears, as he really was, perfectly unassuming, conscientious, and intent on the highest service he could render, on the one hand to the cause of Art, and on the other to those whom he would win to comprehend and to love it.

Next, and closely associated with his publications, were his lectures. He had but begun to lecture when he left the country in 1857. In the second year after his return, — that is, in 1871, — he delivered a series of lectures upon Greek Art to the teachers and pupils of the Girls' High and Normal School in Boston. This school had but lately moved into a new building, whose hall or assembly-room had been decorated with plaster casts from Greek sculptures at the expense of a few men and women, mostly members of the American Social Science Association, who thought that the daily contemplation of the noblest forms would help the young people thronging the school from year to year. Perkins was the adviser of the givers. He could tell them the best casts to order, and the best sources to order from, as no one else known to them could do; and when the casts were in their places, he stood ready to explain to those to whom or for whose sake they were given what they meant and to what the knowledge of them might lead. Just as he had been the first to lecture upon Art to a college in this country, nearly a quarter of a century before, so now he was the first art-lecturer to a public school.

He was thrice appointed a lecturer before the Lowell Institute. His courses were each of twelve lectures, — one on Greek Art, in the season of 1871-1872; one on Italian Art, in 1873-1874; and one on the History of the Art of Engraving, in 1877-1878. They were all illustrated with the aid of a stereopticon,

and transported the large audiences attending them far away from the lecture-hall to the museums and galleries of the Old World. The lecturer read from manuscript, except when speaking of the illustrations, and with a simple delivery. His personal presence was very attractive, and brought about a positively friendly relation between himself and his audience. Some of these Lowell lectures were read in other places.

His part in various institutions of Art may next be related. He resumed his place in those with which he had formerly been connected, like the Harvard Musical Association and the Handel and Haydn Society. The latter Society was one of his strongest interests for many years. He became its president for the second time in 1875, and held the office till his death. His time and means were freely bestowed upon it. He attended its rehearsals, often taking his place in the chorus, and shared in all the concerns of administration. He gave it some of its most valuable scores. Obtaining leave as a personal favor to copy additions to the Bach High Mass, he copied them with his own hand when he had little leisure to spare. His most valuable service was in preparing and carrying out the public performances of the Society. There were some sharp contentions, rather out of than in the Society, as to the character of its representations. It was urged that they should be given in a larger hall, and made more inviting and accessible to popular attendance. He was willing to try the experiment; but when it was tried, and to his judgment unsuccessfully, he stood out against any repetition. His love of the great oratorios was not only deep but reverential, and he would not have them regarded or performed as anything less than really sacred music. Popular appreciation rather than popular patronage was what he desired for them; and the Society, or the great majority of the Society, agreed with him. One of his latest literary labors was the History of the Society. The materials which had been gathered by others were placed in his hands, and he set to work upon them with great interest. Only the first portions, however, of the work were completed.

Among the new offices which he was called to fill, was the presidency of the Boston Art Club, which he held for ten years. He was frequently asked to serve on committees for one artistic purpose or another, or to take charge or give advice by himself in relation to some enterprise in Art. He

seldom refused, and seldom failed to do more than his share of service. He was interested in other objects. His election to the Historical Society gratified him highly, and he responded to it by attending the meetings and contributing to the publications of the Society.

On his return from abroad in 1869 he found one project afoot which his whole nature hailed with joy. This was the establishment of a Museum of Fine Arts, the very institution which he had dreamed of founding twenty years before. It was now proposed, by a few members of the American Social Science Association, that the Boston Athenæum should allow its paintings, sculptures, and casts, and that Harvard College and the Boston Public Library should allow their engravings, to be deposited in one collection as the germ of a Museum. The proposal found instant favor, and resulted in an Act of Incorporation in February, 1870. The name of Charles C. Perkins is second on the list of corporators. He could have asked for no more grateful welcome home than this enterprise gave him. It was the fulfilment of early hopes which seemed to have become impracticable. It was the promise of more than he had hoped for.

Subscriptions were at once made for a building, and the work went on apace. But long before any building could be reared, the Trustees met from time to time to mature their plans; and no one among them was better qualified by experience or capacity to aid in laying out the future of the Museum than he who had spent years in the Museums of Europe, studying in them, consulting with their directors, and learning all their methods and resources. Others could raise more money, or direct building operations with greater executive ability, but in his own province, the only one he aspired to fill, he was unsurpassed. His correspondence with writers upon Art, officers of artistic institutions, makers of casts, publishers of books, engravings, and photographs, was of the greatest possible assistance in founding the Museum. He was made Honorary Director, and his industrious exertions in this office gave a new meaning to the first word of its title. Through his influence more particularly, an early gift of Egyptian antiquities was secured; and their arrangement by him and exhibition in the upper rooms of the Athenæum opened the public career of the Museum. From that day forward to the opening of the Mu-

seum building, and thence through the ten years of his life that remained, he never wearied in doing what he could for the institution. He gave of his money, his collections, his acquirements, his ideas, himself.

The growth of the Museum was his reward. He took delight in its constantly spreading power, its schools for students, its sympathies with the men and women unable to visit it on week days and to whom it was thrown open on Sundays. Strangers were often received at the building and conducted over it by him. Exhibitions of American artists within its walls gave him peculiar pleasure. It was for the country as well as for the city that it had been founded, and any proof of its being useful beyond its immediate neighborhood was most welcome to him. In his eyes it was a great educational institution, fitted to train the passing spectator as well as the persevering student or the successful artist; and the wider its clientage, the more liberal its treatment of all within its range, the nearer did the purposes of its foundation come to being fulfilled. He was by no means alone in these views. The officers of the Museum — Trustees, Curator, and assistants — all moved with similar impulse toward similar ends. But there was probably none among them who had so long desired a comprehensive scheme of education in Art, and we may speak of him as especially rejoicing in its consummation.

One thing more was true of him in his relations to the Museum. He seemed, above most others, to identify himself with it. Its experiences were almost personal to him. Every gift it received was acknowledged with as much thankfulness as if bestowed on himself. Did an expected bequest fail, he grieved more than he would have done over any disappointment of his own. When a new subscription was needed to maintain or extend the work, he exulted if it succeeded or sorrowed if it were delayed. In short, nothing could happen in the way either of gain or of loss without his feeling it. This sympathetic, this personal devotion to the Museum was not given in vain. It strengthened, and, more than that, it warmed, the institution, and made it better able to reach the hearts as well as refine the tastes of its people.

In all these labors there was an immediate connection with the great object of his life. Whatever bore directly upon Art or the extension of its power or its beneficence, was a part of

the occupation which he had chosen from youth as his own. We are now to follow him in exertions by no means separated from those already described, yet not so nearly or so evidently associated with them as to make them appear at first sight altogether natural to him. But he had long been acting on a rule which he may never have heard, and yet might have composed,—the rule of the French Oratory, "*Non circa Scientiam, sed circa usum Scientiæ.*" He was about to turn his knowledge to new uses.

In October, 1871, a vacancy in the School Committee of Boston was filled by the election of Charles Perkins, and he continued a member for upwards of thirteen years. Not immediately, but gradually, he became chairman of three important sub-committees,—Drawing, Music, and the Third Division, embracing the schools of the North and West Ends. He was also a member or the chairman of several special committees. We must do what our space allows to follow him in the discharge of these functions, for they were in many respects the most influential which he ever assumed.

A year before his election to the School Board he had been consulted by the Chairman of the Committee on Drawing with regard to the improvement of that branch of instruction in the public schools. He wrote as follows:—

"It is as easy to teach children to draw as it is to teach them to write, provided they are taught in the right way. If they are put under teachers who cannot guide them with a firm hand because they themselves have no fixed principles of instruction, no good result can be expected, and the children's time is wasted. The first object, then, is to have the teachers taught by a thoroughly well-educated master, so that, having learned his system, they may become competent to instruct in it. You naturally ask where such a person is to be found; to which I answer, among the graduates of the Normal School at South Kensington. . . . My long acquaintance with Mr. Cole (the superintendent) and his able assistants, and the interest which I have heard them express in the prospects of Art in the United States, warrants my belief that they would take the utmost pains to select the right person, if I requested them to take the responsibility. So fully am I convinced of this that I will undertake to procure the necessary models, such as are supplied to Art Schools from South Kensington, and give them to the Committee, provided they will authorize me to communicate with Mr. Cole on the subject, and to ask him to send a competent teacher to Boston who may be made Head Master of Drawing in the Public Schools."

The Committee accepted the offer; and in due course of time a teacher nominated at South Kensington arrived in Boston, and as Supervisor or Director, with assistants selected from Boston teachers of drawing, organized the system which, notwithstanding his own failure to retain his place permanently, has continued without any radical modification to the present time. In addition to instruction in the day schools, evening schools of drawing were gradually established in different parts of the city, and courses in mechanical and architectural drawing, and ship-draughting, were introduced. Exhibitions of the work in all these schools were held almost every year, and a very general interest in them was aroused.

For this system our friend was responsible. He recommended it, as an authority on Art, before becoming one of the School Committee, and he supported it with unfaltering zeal after he entered that body. There was much to discourage him. The South Kensington teacher was not wholly satisfactory at first, and became almost wholly unsatisfactory at last. His assistants were rather unequal to the work devolving upon them, and the teachers of the public schools did not altogether prove masters or mistresses of drawing. Grumbling at the new branch of study was active among teachers, if not pupils, and subsided very slowly. The text-books brought into use, and their publishers, gave a great deal of trouble, and to no one more than to the Chairman of the Committee on Drawing,—an office accepted by Perkins in 1873. More trying still were the doubts expressed by many persons more or less interested in Art, as to the character of the system brought from South Kensington. It was by no means universally accepted as the best adapted to public schools either at or after its introduction.

The Chairman, however, stood firm. In his report to the School Committee in 1874, he said:—

“The system has already accomplished enough under very imperfect conditions to warrant the belief that it will eventually obtain the approval of all competent and unprejudiced judges. . . . We do not fear any condemnatory verdict from the men who know how important the study of drawing is to the advance of the best interests of a great manufacturing State like Massachusetts. Many of the children in her public schools must hereafter win their daily bread by trades and professions which demand an elementary knowledge of the arts of design; while the artisans and mechanics who avail themselves of the oppor-

tunities for instruction in free-hand and instrumental drawing so freely offered to them in the evening schools of the city, acquire a knowledge which will double the value of their labor in the market. . . . The study of Art can be pursued to but a very limited degree in the public schools; but even this, if thorough as far as it goes, will enable the student to continue it if he have leisure and inclination to do so."

Several years later, in 1880, he reports with even stronger assurance: —

"From the lowest classes in the primary schools to the most advanced in the high and evening schools, we now have a progressive course, pointing in one direction, pursuing one aim by one system. If we have taken nine years to reach this end, it is because the way was unexplored, and the methods of procedure necessarily tentative. We feel obliged to insist upon this, because we do not think that the novelty of the experiment is sufficiently realized, or the consequent difficulties justly estimated, save by those who know what has been, or is now being attempted elsewhere."

He then quotes with great gratification a letter from a French artist, deputed by the Minister of Public Instruction to examine the system of teaching drawing in this country, bearing "witness to the fact that the means have been found to teach the elements of drawing to sixty thousand children without the aid of special instructors."

As a member of the Committee on Music from 1873, and Chairman from 1876, he had a less responsible and less difficult position. This branch of instruction had been pursued for many years on a plan with which he did not wish to interfere, and he had but to see that it was carried on as it had been with the aid of several special teachers and the spur of an annual exhibition, or festival, as it was called. There was nothing to trouble him in this except an occasional difference among the instructors, or a disposition to lessen their number on the part of the School Board. The musical exercises which he was fond of inspecting in the schools were a source of great pleasure to him. He sought to lift the minds of both teachers and pupils to the higher reaches of the art he loved. He says in one of his reports: —

"These are ethical influences whose importance will be acknowledged even by those who have no music in their souls. Those who have, need no arguments to strengthen their sense of the high place

which belongs to it in a liberal education. Few studies indeed can claim to do so much towards advancing children in the paths of peace, obedience, and order, giving them present happiness, future occupation, and an always elevated enjoyment."

He was by no means absorbed in the teaching of music and drawing to our children. Other subjects interested him very deeply. In 1880 he reported, as Chairman of a Committee on the Tenure of Office of Instructors, "that we consider it desirable to give tenure of office on good behavior to teachers, believing that it would strengthen their self-respect, and with this their self-dependence; that it would save them from that weakening load of anxiety which is incident to annually recurring elections; that it would induce many able men and women to become teachers who now, owing to the insecurity of the position, turn away from it; and that it would make those who decide to embrace teaching as an occupation for life willing to fit themselves for it by longer preparatory training." In the same report the Chairman states for the Committee, that it has considered another matter "very vitally connected with the general subject of indefinite tenure of office; namely, a system of retiring aged and infirm teachers from service with some provision for their support." This led to the appointment of another special committee by which a Teachers' Fund was recommended on terms which need not here be related. Still another subject occupied Perkins's mind through all the last years of his membership in the School Committee. This was Industrial Education. After several preliminary movements, a Committee of which he was Chairman reported, in November, 1883, in favor of instituting an Elementary Manual Training School. The School Committee approved; the City Council made the required appropriation, and the school was opened in April, 1884. It was perfectly plain from the November Report that the Committee would gladly have recommended a more comprehensive scheme of manual training. They speak with regret of the uselessness of asking for "a sum of money sufficient for the establishment of a separate and fully equipped Industrial School, where instruction and practice in the use of tools could be combined with Mathematics, Drawing, and the English branches of a High School course." When such a school is established in Boston, as the

present drift of sentiment among educational authorities seems to foretell, it may or may not be remembered that Charles Perkins, the lover of Art, was also the lover of industry, and that he advocated manual industry as a branch of education with all the earnestness of his character.

This account of his service on the School Committee should not be closed without alluding to his personal relations with the teachers, and to a limited degree with the pupils of the schools. He frequently visited those under his charge, — whether the day-schools of the Third Division, the classes in music throughout the city, or the evening schools of drawing. These last were the objects of especially watchful care; and he would go out on a winter evening, and travel any distance in the suburbs as in the city proper, so that some work of supervision or assistance might be done. He was very sympathetic with teachers of every grade. If one of them were ill or poor, he stood ready to help. If one were in trouble from any cause, even from incompetence, he would try to find a remedy or to stave off the day of doom. Teachers were continually coming to his house; and though he did not like to be disturbed in his home studies or engagements, he would admit them, and talk with them as they desired. Few members of the Committee were as kindly thought of as he was by the teachers who knew him.

It is strange that such a service as he rendered to the schools and the community should be terminated sooner than he desired. But the dominant political party in Boston saw fit to drop his name from their ticket at the election in 1884; and though he was nominated on all the other tickets, he was not re-elected. It was a very great disappointment. He had grown so wonted to his duties, and they to him, that giving them up involved a serious change in his occupations. Work was never irksome to him, or even drudgery, if he could feel that it was helpful to others; and he knew — he would have been wanting in common intelligence had he not known — that his labors for the schools were crowded with helpfulness. The loss of such a member of the Committee, such a scholar, such a man, was a public one; and no partisan exigency or selfish ambition was the least shadow of excuse for causing it.

Here we end the story of his labors. If it were true, as was once said, that duty is what we don't want to do, his life,

filled with duty as it was, would have been a long penance. Happily for him, he wanted to do what he felt bound to do. Work for art or education was not merely work to him. It was play as well as work; or, in other words, he enjoyed it. Many men, most men, labor in ways more or less trying to them; but the way he had chosen, so far as he could follow it undisturbed, was a perpetual pleasantness. So that, though his life has been sketched as if it were wholly laborious, there has been, or there should be, nothing grim in its aspect. Let us turn to the other side, and see a man who knew how to amuse himself.

His love of Nature and adventure rendered travelling delightful to him. He made early journeys in this country, some in the saddle, and formed attachments to certain spots, Trenton Falls especially, which drew him back to them again and again in after years. Europe was of course enchanted ground to him; and his successive tours, north and south, east and west, carried him through all that was most picturesque and historic on the Continent. One of his expeditions was quite out of the common run. He writes from Venice in July, 1847:—

“To-day I have purchased an iron-gray horse, aged five years, and named by me Beppo. You will open your eyes at this announcement, and wonder what on earth I am going to do with said Beppo, and then you will envy me a little when you hear. Now, to tantalize you, I will premise that I am not going to emulate Lord Byron, and ride as well as bathe on the Lido,—no, I am bound on a longer ride. I am going to start from Mestre, and ride to Geneva, with saddle-bags equipped, by the rarest of routes through Alpine valleys and over Alpine passes.”

Of all his travels, those through Italy in preparation of his works on Italian sculpture were the most exciting. Nature and Art, the past and the present, nay the future as it was then shaping itself to his eyes, all encompassed him without and inspired him within. He always rejoiced in the beauty of the world about him; and, not content with mere rejoicing, he studied its phenomena, and meditated a work on Art in Nature. The last address he made was on this theme, before the Society to Encourage Studies at Home, which he had more than once spoken to, and of which he was always a well-wisher.

His social instincts were very strong. He made friends easily, and held them lastingly. One of the touching tributes to his memory bears strong testimony to his power of friendship. "I read," writes a professor in a Scotch University, "with great grief, as of a personal and irreparable loss, of the death of my very old friend Charles C. Perkins, of whom I think I wrote you as to the nature of my association with him in Rome in the winter of 1845-1846. The many tender and exquisite memories of that time come back on me now with all the force and the sadness that arises from the impossibility henceforth of ever again renewing intercourse in this world with the man who, of all others, gave that winter its supreme charm for me." Forty years' separation had not loosened the hold of this early attachment. Perkins was a loyal friend. Whether to one whom he loved from youth or to one chosen in later life, to those of his own circle or those of another, even of what the world calls inferior, he was true as steel.

Society had great charms for him. No wonder, for he had a charm of his own for society. Wherever he went he was welcome. Courtesy, cordiality, a gentle and winning manner, a fine presence, an expressive face, gave him great attractiveness to strangers as to friends. He was hospitality itself, and delighted in receiving visitors at his house and his table. He liked to accept invitations, especially to dinner or for the evening, and would go forth to them with the pleasure of a young man even to the last. He liked his clubs, and frequented them. He would make a quiet visit to a friend with as much readiness as he would join the most entertaining party. It was always sympathy rather than entertainment, always the interchange of interest and thought rather than the mere talk or laugh of society, which attracted him.

One of his characteristic traits was regularity. Just as he preferred a social evening, so he liked a busy day, and one laid out from first to last on well-tryed rule. This applied to little things as well as to grave occupations. If he was in the country, he would not sit down to breakfast till he had walked out and gathered a flower or two, if any were within reach. His hours for going to and leaving the writing-table or the piano were uniform. Work away from home was done at stated times. The afternoon, or latter part of it, was for the saddle, or, if he had no horse at command, for a constitu-

tional, as his long walks were called. He would not dine till late, partly because of long habit, and partly because the labor and the exercise of the day, as he arranged them, brooked no midday meal. He never fancied novelties of routine. As he lived at one season, so he would live at another; and much of the satisfaction, not to say enjoyment, of his life arose from his power to command his habits, and to keep them in the same course with which he was familiar. He was spared the trial of being obliged by age or infirmity to change his ways of living. At sixty he was still able to divide and occupy his days very much as if he had been twenty, and this was certainly one of his happinesses.

Of his domestic happiness this is no place to speak, nor, on the other hand, is this a place to forget it. His love for his family—his mother, wife, children, brothers, and sisters—and their love for him formed too bright a part of his life, as of his character, not to be remembered whenever we remember him.

Shall we attempt to penetrate still deeper, and sound the religious nature of our friend? "There ought to be," says the author of the "Imitation of Christ," "much more within than is perceived without." It was so with Charles Perkins. He had a clear, plain, unbroken faith in God. From Him he knew that he derived whatever powers and advantages he possessed, and to Him he acknowledged himself accountable for using them. In all the changing aspects, spiritual and intellectual, of his time he felt the concern which any man of intelligence and sympathy must feel; but so far as they turned away from revealed truth or ceased to reflect the Divine Power above them, he had no share in them. His religious opinions, as known to his friends, were humble, straightforward, and healthy, such as affect the outer and the inner life, and render him who holds them fit to live and fit to die. He was a faithful worshipper in the Church into which he was born and baptized. He loved her liturgy, her service, and her spirit, and yielded to her influences consistently and devoutly. Thus ripening to the end, he was not unprepared when the end came.

It came suddenly, but not for him inopportunately. His last winter and spring of active exertion were ended. He had little unfinished work on hand. His more important

writings were all completed. His services to the Handel and Haydn Society and the Museum of Fine Arts had been rendered as long as could have been expected from any single helper. Those to the schools were altogether terminated. His private affairs were in as good condition to be left as they could ever be. His elder son was happily settled in his profession and home. His younger son had just returned for the summer from passing his examinations at the *École des Beaux Arts* in Paris. Even to the giving up of the house he had occupied in Boston since 1869, and storing his household treasures until he should find another town residence, it seems now as if he had been preparing for final departure. His last month in or near Boston was spent with his dearly loved sister Mrs. Cleveland and his beloved brother Edward N. Perkins at his sister's house. His last month with his own household was at Newport, where all his home summers since his marriage had been passed. It was a summer of peace and joy with him. One of his friends describes a visit from him in language which may be quoted in confirmation of his spiritual ripeness:—

“There was a charm in his look and manner that touched us all; all through the evening we noticed this, and as soon as he left us, we spoke of it together. It was very peculiar and very beautiful, and seems now as if it were a special influence from the heaven he was so soon to enter.”

In the latter part of August, 1886, he went to Windsor, Vermont, to make a visit at his son's summer home. Two grandchildren were there to welcome him, and with them and their parents a few serene and happy days sped by. On the afternoon of August 25 he went to drive with two companions, one of them a young lady, who afterwards spoke of his enthusiasm at the beauty of the country, and of his conversation on many lovely things. Something about the harness gave way, control of the horses was lost, and the carriage was swept on as to destruction. The young lady relates that the last thing she remembers of him was the smile he gave her, as if to save her from alarm. Then the crash came; he was thrown and instantly killed.

He was mourned wherever he was known. Not in Boston only, or in Newport, — his homes for many years, — nor in his

own country alone, but far away, the tidings of his death woke strong expressions of sorrow. "Our Museum has met a great loss," said the Curator, then in Paris, to M. Eugène Müntz, author of a work on "Raphael" and other artistic volumes, as well as Librarian of the School of Fine Arts, and long a friend of Charles Perkins. "Not your Museum only," was the reply; "it is a loss to Science." Similar regrets were expressed at the British Museum, and many another School of Art in Europe. Here all men and all associations with whom he had been connected followed one another in tributes of reverent appreciation,—some of them in language unexpectedly touching and even tender. It was a singular demonstration of widespread mourning. He was generally thought to have died an unnatural death, and there is no denying that his gentleness through life and the violence of his end are irreconcilable. But when we remember that he was snatched from sickness and decay, that no heart-piercing sorrow had ever visited him, that the shadows inevitable to prolonged age had not yet touched him, it seems that his death, like his life, was a happy one. His memory is assuredly happy. He is, and long will be, honored as having accomplished a good work for others as for himself; and he will long be lamented as having left an empty place among his people which none can fill as he did. To those nearest him, to the friends who loved and appreciated him, he does not, he cannot, die. His presence may be shut out from their sight, but he dwells with them in spirit, and speaks to them in a language he could not so much as imagine himself uttering when he was here. He will be present with many besides his friends, though they know it not; for his work will go on among them, and among those who come after them.





F. E. Parker

MEMOIR

OF THE

HON. FRANCIS EDWARD PARKER.

BY EDWARD BANGS.

FRANCIS EDWARD PARKER was born on the 23d of July, 1821, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where his father, the Rev. Dr. Nathan Parker,¹ was settled as pastor of the South Parish. Dr. Parker descended, as did the Rev. Theodore Parker, from Thomas Parker, who came from England to Lynn in the "Susan and Ellen" in 1635. Mr. Parker's mother, Susan Pickering, was the daughter of the Hon. John Pickering, Chief Justice of New Hampshire, and of Abigail Sheafe, daughter of the Hon. Jacob Sheafe.

Mr. Parker took, in a quiet way, a certain interest in his pedigree, and employed the late Mr. Somerby, and afterwards Mr. Henry F. Waters, to make searches for him in England. They were not able to carry his paternal line beyond Thomas Parker the emigrant. With his maternal ancestors, the Sheafes, Mr. Waters was more fortunate. There is a Sheafe Genealogy in the fourth volume of the "Heraldic Journal" (p. 81), prepared from manuscripts then in Mr. Parker's possession. Mr. Waters has discovered that the father of the Edmund Sheafe² with whom that pedigree begins was the Rev. Thomas Sheafe, parson of Welford, Berkshire, whose wife, the daughter of the Rev. William Wilson, was the grand-niece of Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury, who is famous for having dared to exhort Queen Elizabeth to remember that notwithstanding her power and grandeur she was a mortal creature and accountable to God, — thereby incurring

¹ A memoir of the Rev. Dr. Parker may be found in the "Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society," vol. iv. p. 255.

² Some further genealogical details may be found in a manuscript deposited in the Library.

her lasting displeasure. While Edmund Sheafe's wife, Elizabeth Cotton, was the daughter of Elizabeth Juxon, who was cousin-german to William Juxon, Bishop of London, who was privileged to attend Charles I. upon the scaffold, and was, after the Restoration, made Archbishop of Canterbury.

From the period of his infancy one rather characteristic anecdote has come down, told in a letter from Mrs. Parker to Mrs. Goodrich, kindly furnished by his kinswoman Mrs. R. H. Eddy. Mrs. Parker writes: "Yesterday morning two or three gay ladies of the parish chanced to meet at our humble abode, and their lively tongues soon became very busy with the gossip and chit-chat of the day and the town. My lordly little son was tied in his high-chair by the table, looking over the pictures in an old primer, so occupied and quiet that we never dreamed of his hearing or noticing anything outside of his book. But as soon as we were alone, he turned those deep earnest eyes of his full upon me, and asked, 'Mother, was *all* that those ladies said to you *quite true*?' I felt the rebuke, and scarcely know what answer I made."

In 1833 Mr. Parker's father died, and in the following year he entered Phillips Exeter Academy, where he remained until in 1837 he went to Harvard College. He graduated in 1841 with the highest honors. That he was socially a favorite in college his having been President of the "Hasty Pudding Club" would show, if any such proof were needed. Among the classmates with whom his relations in after life were especially friendly, were Messrs. William B. Bacon, Wickham Hoffman, Samuel F. McCleary, Thomas C. H. Smith, and Drs. Edward H. Clarke and Francis Minot.

In September, 1841, he became an Usher in the Boston Public Latin School. At the end of a year he was suffering from overwork, and on the 8th of October, 1842, he sailed from Boston in the barque "Kazan" in company with his friend Mr. Richard Sullivan. They touched at Fayal, and landed at Gibraltar, passed the winter and spring in Italy, spending three months in Rome, then crossed the Alps by the Splügen Pass, and parted in Switzerland, after having been together eight months. Thence Mr. Parker went home by the way of England.

Mr. Sullivan found him a most agreeable and considerate companion, more reserved than in later life, always a keen

observer, and often brilliant and witty, and remembers his having then a great taste for classical literature and metaphysics. This was the first of those visits to Europe which afterwards became annual and regular.

In 1845 he took the degree of LL.B. at Harvard, and on the 13th of November, 1846, was admitted, in the Court of Common Pleas, to the Suffolk Bar, and began to practise his profession in Boston, at first in partnership with Mr. J. Elliot Cabot, who had been his classmate in the Law School, afterwards with Mr. Richard H. Dana. His merit soon made itself felt, and the success he so well deserved followed. The long struggle with poverty ceased; but it was never forgotten, even in the great prosperity which attended the latter years of his too short life.

His taste was rather for the more quiet tasks of the profession than for practice as an advocate, and yet he was a good jury lawyer, and argued questions of law before the full bench with remarkable ability. His name appears in the books in nearly forty cases. In the first case of importance¹ his friend and travelling-companion Mr. Richard Sullivan was his client.

A scrupulous conscientiousness was to be remarked in all his business transactions. Early in life, when money was not plentiful with him, he insisted upon paying, out of his own pocket, a judgment recovered against one of his clients amounting to much more than a thousand dollars, because his student, who had been ordered to enter his appearance in the case, had neglected to do so, and it had consequently gone by default. This was not the only instance of the kind. He was in everything strict to rigor with himself, and of a rare and antique virtue.

Never unwilling to apply to the doubts of others that high standard to which he himself tried to conform, he was a trusted and faithful counsellor to many to whom it now seems that there is no one left to whom they can turn in their difficulties with the confidence that they will receive, as they would have done from him, counsel which, like that of Ahithophel which he counselled in those days, was as if a man had inquired at the oracle of God.

In politics he was a Republican; and in 1865 he was in the Senate of Massachusetts for one session, where he made a great

¹ Sullivan v. Holmes, 8 Cush. 252, October, 1851.

impression, showing not only eloquence, but that talent for influencing men and giving to affairs the right turn which, in practice, is often of more value than eloquence. He seemed to be then at the beginning of a brilliant political career; but he did not care to follow up his success,—he was satisfied with having proved to himself that he could attain it. He declined the re-election which was urged upon him, and never again took a public part in politics, though in the unseen but necessary preliminary work no man was more diligent or more useful.

In religion he was, as became the son of his father, a Unitarian. His piety was deep and sincere, with perhaps a little of that ascetic tinge which has colored the minds of so many of the children of the early settlers of New England.

His love of letters lasted always; in the midst of a busy life he made time for them, and they found in him a vigorous champion in the warfare waged against them, in the name of physical science, by those who argue as if that were the whole of knowledge.

He was never married, and left no relations nearer than cousins surviving him.

His social qualities were of a rare kind. As a diner-out and *raconteur* he was admirable. His lively interest in every man, especially in every young man, with whom he was brought into contact, begot in them a corresponding interest, and he was everywhere a favorite. He naturally and without effort attracted confidence; those who were thrown with him were almost sure to tell him the stories of their lives. As he walked on the Common in the summer evenings, he often sat down by some forlorn youth whose looks he fancied, and before long that youth had told him his history, and received in return the best advice and help, if he needed it. In that way he heard some strange tales, which would have been of use to a novelist. As it was, they gratified his inquiring mind, always busy in the study of that most wonderful of things,—man.

In woman he was interested, though never in the conventional sense of the word. His attitude towards her was rather one of curiosity than of admiration. To the last, she remained to him an insolvable enigma; and this, although (may it not perhaps be *because*) he had, as it is said men of genius always have, something feminine in his own nature. But had he felt

the usual attraction, it is to be doubted whether he would have yielded to it. That love of independence which was his ruling passion and limited even his friendships, would have kept him from giving all to love, and made him rather obey that other command of the poet, —

“Keep thee to-day,
To-morrow, forever,
Free as an Arab
Of thy beloved.”

To be free, — free of love and of friendship, free from men and from things, dependent on no one, on nothing, — that was the ideal towards which he strove; and that aspiration explains parts of his conduct that might otherwise be puzzling, for he was by nature an affectionate man. Mr. Emerson said of Mr. T. G. Appleton that he had the gift of looking at life through fresh spectacles. It was true of Mr. Parker, also, and therein lay in part the secret of his charm. His yearly return from abroad, always with a fresh budget of stories, was eagerly looked for at many tables.

Few distinguished Englishmen came to Boston without bringing letters to him. He liked to be hospitable to them. He liked to avoid any return from them. He liked to study them on their own side of the water, and, above all, he enjoyed puzzling them about his nationality. Sometimes they took him for one of themselves, sometimes for a Canadian; sometimes, but more rarely, they found out the truth. Once, as he liked to tell, on board an ocean steamer, he saw a poor English private soldier sitting sick and miserable on the deck, and spoke kindly to him. Presently one of his English acquaintances came up to him and said: “Do you know, we’ve been trying to find out what you were. Some of us thought you were an Englishman, don’t you know; but we saw you speak to that soldier, and now we *know* you’re an American. No Englishman would do *that*, you know.”

Kindly as he was, he had a keen eye for the faults of the friends and of the country that he loved, and he could say sharp things for their correction when needful. His favorite epigram, “The mission of America is to vulgarize the world,” certainly contains a part of the truth. That he could see the other part was well shown at one of the last dinners he attended, where a friendly Englishman was expressing very pleasantly

his surprise at the curious lack of perception of social differences he had noticed in this country. Mr. Parker defended with vigor the American position, and told how he had just seen at a German *table-d'hôte* the middle-class Germans shrink and cringe before some noble officers who chanced to come in, and contrasted with their servility the self-reliance of an ordinary American traveller, perhaps from Porkopolis, who sat calmly unconscious that he had a social superior there or in the world. He liked that, he said, and was proud of his countrymen. Then he turned to the others and said, "You never heard me deliver that lecture before, but it is true all the same."

His long connection with this Society, with Harvard University, and with the charitable societies of Boston made a great part of his life; but of that part so much has been so well said, in the eloquent tributes paid here to his memory, that it would be useless to try to add anything.

Last year, while in Switzerland, he lost his way in descending a mountain, and was obliged to remain out all the summer night. The exposure must have been injurious, for it was noticed that he did not seem quite well on his return; still, neither he nor his friends suspected that any serious disease had attacked him, until the Friday before his death, which occurred on Monday, the 18th of January, 1886.

His last illness was so short, his death so easy, that it might be said of him, in the words he was fond of repeating, —

"Then with no fiery throbbing pain,
No cold gradations of decay,
Death broke at once the vital chain,
And freed his soul the nearest way."

It was a little strange, and seems now almost ominous, that not long before his death he received from the manager of Fenton's Hotel in London, which he had frequented for nearly thirty years, — where every one knew him, where he had his especial corner in the coffee-room, and the old waiter watched for his coming and knew to a day when he might be expected, — a circular informing him that the hotel would soon be forever closed. This was to him really a serious trouble. He replied to the letter, expressing his regret. It was like the loss of a home, and he was considering how he should replace it. Little did he dream how, or how soon, that problem would be solved!

MARCH MEETING, 1887.

THE meeting this month was held as usual on the second Thursday, the 10th instant, Dr. ELLIS presiding.

The Recording Secretary read his notes of the preceding meeting.

The Librarian being absent, his report of the volumes which had been given to the Library was read by Mr. Lawrence.

The PRESIDENT's opening remarks were as follows : —

The happy clearing up of the mystery investing the birth-place and parentage of John Harvard, by the intelligent methods pursued by Mr. Waters, promises to be followed with like success in the case of another distinguished man of our earliest colonial years. Roger Williams, as regards his origin, age, and kinship, has always been a puzzle to his many biographers. From the few fragmentary helps to our inferences on these points his age, at the time of his arrival in Boston, on the 15th of February, 1631 (new style), has had a range between twenty-five and thirty-two years. Those who have shown the most of charity for his "unsettled judgments," by which he first was brought into notoriety here, have been willing to give him the allowance for immaturity. I have recently received from Mr. Reuben A. Guild, Librarian of Brown University, a note, accompanied by a newspaper slip, containing a report of an interesting paper read by him on February 22 before the Rhode Island Historical Society. Mr. Guild thinks he has come to the knowledge of the early personal history of Williams. Though he admits that the story seems too good to be true, he thinks the evidence is very strong in favor of the conclusions which he has reached. Substantially they are as follows: That Roger Williams was born on Dec. 21, 1602, of a wealthy, aristocratic, high-church English family; that his mother was an heiress; that he came into possession of his property just before entering Pembroke College, at the beginning of the second term, January, 1624; and that he was

probably the son of William Williams, of Gwinear, Cornwall. Mr. Guild has certainly disposed of one mistaken assumption, as he has found proof that the Roger Williams who was a foundation scholar at the Charter-House in 1621, and who was sent to the University in July, 1624, being a good scholar, was not the Roger Williams of Rhode Island, who at that very time had finished his first year at Pembroke. This other Roger, who may have been the son of Lewis Williams, of St. Albans, had in June, 1629, discontinued his studies, and his exhibition was suspended just about the time that our Roger Williams, who had been preaching in Lincolnshire, embarked for New England. We shall look with interest for a full presentment of this new material by Mr. Guild.

In view of the approaching Annual Meeting, Messrs. Abbott Lawrence, Roger Wolcott, and Edward J. Lowell were appointed a committee to nominate officers; and Messrs. Martin Brimmer and Uriel H. Crocker, to audit the Treasurer's accounts.

Mr. C. C. SMITH read a letter from Mr. Deane, which enclosed \$1,000 for the Society, to be spent during the year in the employment of extra assistance in cataloguing the Society's manuscripts. It was voted that the grateful acknowledgments of the Society be presented to Messrs. Charles Deane and George C. Lord, executors of the will of the late Robert Waterston, for their generous gift, and that a committee of two be appointed to carry out the wishes of the donors as expressed in the letter of Mr. Deane to the Treasurer. Mr. Justin Winsor and Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., were appointed as that committee.

Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., then said: —

Mr. President, — The Society will remember that in 1874 the late Mr. John Russell Bartlett edited for the Narragansett Club a collection of all the letters of Roger Williams which he had been able to find, and which up to that time were inconveniently scattered among this Society's publications and elsewhere. This compilation is a very useful one for reference, and comprises one hundred and thirty-four letters, no less than one hundred and nine of which had been already printed by us, and one hundred and three of which had at different

periods been communicated here by my father and grandfather. The Winthrop Papers have been supposed to contain no other letters of Roger Williams than the one hundred and three last mentioned ; but, to my surprise, I recently found two others, which had been apparently examined long ago and then lost sight of. Mr. Bartlett was evidently unaware of their existence, and I now desire to communicate them. The longer of the two, dated Providence, Sept. 2, 1672, is chiefly devoted to the writer's "testimonie" against what he calls "the unclean spirit of the Quakers;" and, alluding to the arrival of "G. Fox & his Fantasticks," he says that it weighs heavily upon him "to be as zealous for my Lord Jesus as they are for Sathan." This letter has unfortunately suffered much from damp, and portions of several sentences cannot now be deciphered. The other is in excellent preservation, and consists of a postscript added by Roger Williams to a letter from his brother Robert to John Winthrop, Jr., dated Providence, Sept. 24, 1649. An earlier committee on these papers printed a single letter of this Robert Williams, dated in 1647; but the one I have now found is the more important of the two. I shall not read it, as I assume it will be printed, but I will quote one sentence from the postscript which his distinguished brother added and signed. "I have," he says, "divers letters from England; all expresse a wonderfull calme & Libertie; all violent Hands, though not Tounge, being held in by the Armie." This incidental and approving characterization of civil liberty as a state of admirable tranquillity, resulting from the salutary restraint of a standing army, seems to my conservative mind a rational one, and is especially noticeable as coming from the pen of so prominent a champion of religious liberty. It readily suggests the second line of that favorite motto of another apostle of human freedom, Algernon Sidney, and which was long afterwards adopted for the great seal of Massachusetts. It has always seemed to me that in choosing the line "*Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem*," we intended the word *ense* to have in some degree a retrospective sense, meaning it to refer not merely to our having drawn the sword against the Mother Country in order to secure the tranquil enjoyment of our liberties, but also to our having considered ourselves justified, at a much earlier period of our history, in enforcing the very harshest measures

to get rid of that mischievous class of persons whom Roger Williams, in one of these letters, terms "incendiaries," but whom, of late years, it has become the fashion to designate by the expressive epithet of "cranks."

I do not forget, however, that a very eminent member of this Society has placed a less satisfactory interpretation upon the motto in question. There is a memorable passage in that eloquent oration of Charles Sumner upon the "True Grandeur of Nations," where, after alluding to our Massachusetts escutcheon as "a most unfortunate combination of disagreeable and unworthy suggestions," he speaks of this word *ense* as conveying an idea of barbarous menace, painfully recalling those "disgraceful wars" in which, as he says, "our fathers robbed and murdered King Philip of Pokanoket and his tribe, rightful possessors of this soil."¹ I can conceive of few more engaging subjects for the pen of some future Savage Landor than an "Imaginary Conversation" in which the misuse of lethal weapons should be deprecated by the founder of Rhode Island, denounced by our lamented Senator, and defended by those two martyred patriots, Philip of Pokanoket and Algernon Sidney!

*Robert Williams to John Winthrop, Jr., with a Postscript from
Roger Williams.*

PROVIDENCE, 24th Septembr 1649.

S^a, — O' serviceable Respects p'sented unto you and yo' Beloved, with engaged acknowledgm^t for all yo' former & late kind & free Remembrance unto us undeserving of yo' worth, &c. Concerninge the land you are pleased to nominate (p^r my brother's advice to be in Controvercie) I understand not; my poore thoughts unto you were (if the place and we were worthe of you) for Potuomet, the front of o' Freshett, and in tyme will be advantagious unto those that shall injoye it; yo' grave & experienced wisdoms needs not my poore advice, but would I were able in any way to expresse my serviceable & Cordiall affections unto you. From o' deare Native Countrie 2 ships arived at Boston, Larice & Allen; perticular information p^r Letters yet we have not, only in generall, that *Warr* commands *peace*, a paradoxe that the divine language speakes unto us depending upon his All-sufficiencie, &c. Concerninge these parts you may be pleased to understand (if you are not allready informed) that the late Commission^r at Boston ordered

¹ An Oration delivered before the Authorities of the City of Boston, July 4, 1846, by Charles Sumner. Original edition. William D. Ticknor & Co., 1846.

that we are Free from the authority of Massachusetts; Conitocutte denied, therefore Plymouth takes care. M^r Browne lately advised with o^r President that a Composure may be p^r Conference (yo^r advice heerein will engage us further unto you); if not, then accordinge unto their Commission (as he reports) from o^r right hon^{ble} Governo^r an Inquest of 12 men out of the united Colonys to inquire & try the Limits of their Pattents & o^r Charter, & to determine o^r Libertyes under their clemencie, &c. We yet heare not from o^r right hon^{ble} Governo^r for whose free & absolute grace & favour we are engaged & allsoe to be responseable according unto their ordinance, and we doubt not of their royall Care unto us their loyall subjects (here bewilldered), but that we shall resceave a Countermand under their hands & seales (if it be theire pleasure) of what was most free & nobly granted unto us and cannot with hono^r be taken from us;— (in my poore thoughts subjective, however, the Earth is the Lord's & the fullnes thereof, created for a momente heere for us and his durable free Grace & Riches in the Land of the Livinge for Eternitye, unto the hopefull enjoym^t thereof the Lord makes us his true & faythfull Minuralls & Lapidaries to enjoye the invalluable Riches thereof), unto that hopefull fruition I commend you, restinge

Yo^r Assured & obliged,

ROBERT WILLIAMS.

S^r, praye presente my reall Respects unto M^r Brewster; haply if the Lord orders yo^r settlem^t togeather my longinge Thoughts may humbly desire p^rtakinge unto what formerly I was bould to move, &c. allsoe my love unto M^r Chesbrooke & his familye; I was lately at Cea-Coancke¹ and their informed by M^r Paine that his cowes is attached concerninge somewhat frō one in the Massachusetts. It seemes M^r Reede his dealer omitted it and it must come unto a tryall at Plymouth. He will doe well to send speedy order unto those that he confides in to end the differences & stope charges, &c.

Roger Williams's Postscript to the foregoing Letter of Robert Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

S^r,— This being sent to me open I add subscription (*in animo*) to the inclosed: yet still hope it will please God *post tenebras dare Lucem* & make you shine as a Light in Pietie & Politie where his holy hand hath set you, that all y^r Countary conceive not an opinion of yo^r Levitie. W^m Chesbrooke hath letters now from me & further direction about his affaires. I have divers letters from England, all expresse a wonderfull Calme & Libertie, & all violent Hands, though not Tounge, held in by the Armie. S^r, with best salutes I end, waiting for a word from John Picket when (if God please) I hope to see you & ever desire to be yo^r most unfayned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

¹ Seekonk.

My wife (now with me) presents loving respects. She is, with my daughter Mary, newly come from the Bay, where she had councell & helpe from M^r Clarke who made answer in Marie's name for her eye, &c.

To the Worth JOHN WINTHROP
These p^rsent,
at P^equitte.

ROBERT WILLIAMS.

Roger Williams to the Commissioners of the United Colonies.

To the much honoured the President & [torn] of the honrd Commissioners from Massachusetts, Plymouth & Conecticut, assembled at Plymouth, present.

PROVIDENCE, 2 Sept^r 1672 (ut vulgo).

HONRD SIRs, humble respects &c. As Commanders of a Fleete or Squadron meete in a Councell of war at sea: so meete yourselves in a Councell of peace or war. I beseech you ¹
. last Declaration speak lowd for New England's moderation within itselfe & towards their Countrymen without them. Gentlemen, you know our Civill Contests with Conecticut Colony & our Religious Dissentions, especially betweene y^e 2 parties, ye people called Baptists & Quakers, amongst us. The former being y^e last yeare in power committed an old Boutefeau ² amongst us, W. Harris, for openly opposing (by publike speech & professed writings) y^e King's Authority & Prerogative to dispence with his subjects' Consciences (no, not abroad) in matters of God's Worship established by Law in Eng^{ld}. For his escape, he plots with y^e Quakers' partie; they togeather (though very hardly) out y^e Baptists, & so W. Harris escapes. In this juncture G. Fox & his Fantasticks arrive, who are welcom'd by our Chiefe & W. Har^t, & by y^e vulgar, as Paul & Barnabas, Mercury & Jupiter from Heaven. Mine experience tells me that (as I have told them openly) W. Harris cares no more for y^e Quakers than y^e Baptists, nor for Hartford than Newport, but hath pleaded for y^e Charter of Conecticut & ye Quakers only hoping for helpe from them at last about Land, &c. By infinite Wisedome thus y^e most holy & only wise orders ye Affairs of Dust & ashes like y^e workings & strugglings of Ants upon a Molehill till the wind of Death tears all asunder.

HONRD S^r, I have ever sought after ye Restauration of ye Ordinances of Christ Jesus in Puritie, therefore have I now resolved (with y^e helpe

¹ This passage is too much torn and defaced to be deciphered.

² Evidently the French word, *boute-feu*, an incendiary.

of y^e Lord) to give some testimonie against the uncleane spirit of y^e Quakers. I challenged G. Fox & all his complices
 . . . my charges against them in publike. The old¹
 to palliate their offences (wth God was pleased to discover to the utmost) by printing their Lyes in London. You know it can not be but heavily incumbent upon my Spirit to be as zealous for my Lord Jesus as they are for Sathan, & to meete them, in their Traverses & Turns, at y^e press in London allso. S^r, if it please God to bring me to London & (very probably) to his Ma^{ties} presence, can I say ought to y^e prejudice of y^e Safetie & Peace & Liberties of New Engl^d, & yet can I be silent in y^e Concerns of our Colony? Ought not y^e Liberties of New Engl^d to be as tender to me as y^e apple of mine eye¹

S^r, I pray you pass by y^e failings of

Yo^r most unworthy Servant,

ROGER WILLIAMS.²

Endorsed by Gov. JOHN WINTHROP, Jr.: "Ltre from Mr Williams, 1672."

Dr. EVERETT spoke of a singular allusion to the painter Sharpless, and to Middleton's picture of Mary the mother of Washington, which occurs in the last number of "Harper's Magazine."

Mr. GOODELL remarked that Major Walter had returned to England, news having been received that he had reached Queenstown on his way home.

Mr. WINSOR said: —

When recently investigating the details of the famous Indian fight of Captain Lovewell near Fryeburg, Maine, May 8, 1725, I was obliged to accept the map of the neighborhood of the pond on the banks of which the conflict took place, as it is given in Bouton's edition of "Lovewell's Great Fight," (Concord, New Hampshire, 1861), and copied in Frederick Kidder's "Expedition of Captain John Lovewell" (Boston, 1865). This map places the scene at the north angle of the

¹ This passage is too much torn and defaced to be deciphered.

² For an account of a meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies at which a letter (probably this) of Roger Williams is mentioned, see Hazard's Collections, vol. ii. p. 527.

pond, as deduced from the accounts and traditions. Since I made this study I have found an early plan entered upon the records of Harvard College¹ by President Langdon, with care enough to indicate an accurate copy "from a large plan belonging to the proprietors of Fryeburg." This draught shows "Lovels pond" and its neighborhood, and there is a small dot put against the shore on the northeast side of the pond with this inscription, "Place of Lovel's battle with the Indians." This plan must have been made not many years from 1770, or about forty years after the event, when there were many persons living remembering the occurrence.

Langdon, it will be remembered, was a map-maker not without experience, for he had assisted Colonel Blanchard in the well-known map of New Hampshire which was published in 1761.

Mr. WINSOR also said:—

I have had occasion in another place to review the discussions which have taken place over the landfall of Sir Francis Drake on the California coast, in connection with the views of our associate, Dr. Hale, that San Francisco Bay was the spot.² I received yesterday from Professor George Davidson, of the Coast Survey, an abstract of a paper read by him before the California Academy of Sciences, on the "Early Spanish Voyages of Discovery on the Coast of California." As his conclusions on the point of Drake's landing are at variance with what has usually been held by his associates in the Survey, and as he has been on work in the coast line of that region for more than thirty-five years, his opinion is of importance to any one who seeks to weigh the evidence. His testimony is in favor of what is known as Jack's Bay, or the Sir Francis Drake Bay of the modern maps, which is a depression in the coast a few miles north of the Golden Gate. He identifies the "Portus Novæ Albionis" of Drake, given by that navigator as under 38° of north latitude, with the "Baia de Pinos" of Cabrillo, the "Bahia de los Pinos" of Ferrelo, the "Puerto de San Francisco" of Viscaïno, and holds them to be the modern Drake's Bay, or the northern part of the gulf of the Farallones,

¹ College Book, vol. iii. p. 130.

² Narrative and Critical History of America, vol. iii p. 74.

whose true latitude is precisely what Drake records, and more than a degree south of the record made by Ferrelo.

Those interested in the historical cartography of the Pacific coast will be glad to learn that Professor Davidson in this paper has sought to determine the identity of sixty-nine places on the coast mentioned in the narratives of Ulloa, Cabrillo, Ferrelo, Drake, and Viscaino, and that, as the result of much study, it has been submitted to the Superintendent of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey for publication.

Mr. WINSOR finally referred to the list of the nearly four hundred books left by Elder William Brewster of the "Mayflower" at his death, as interesting in showing what the most learned man of that company had gathered for his household companions. He said:—

This list is spread upon the records of inventories at Plymouth,¹ and enables us to authenticate all of the autographs of the Elder which are known, with the exception of one, and that is attached to the record of a deed in the Court House at Plymouth,—not a solitary instance in those records of original signatures being attached to papers spread upon its records,—and this was for a long time the only autograph of Brewster known. About thirty years ago a copy of Cartwright's "*Harmonia Evangelica*" (Amsterdam, 1627), was found in the Yale College Library,—the same book priced in the inventory at Plymouth at five shillings. It has, accompanying the signature, the motto "*Hebel est omnis Adam*," which seems to be play upon the Hebrew names of Adam and Abel and to signify the vanity or transitoriness of man. Not long after this a folio Chrysostom (Basle, 1522) was discovered in the Boston Athenæum, with the name and motto, and it was found to be further inscribed as having been owned by the young Thomas Prince, a son of Governor Prince, who married a daughter of Brewster, and also as having been at one time the property of President Wadsworth of Harvard College. Brewster died in April, 1644, and young Prince notes receiving it in July following thus: "*Thomæ Principis. Liber ex bibliotheca avi mei, 1644, Jull.*" Some years later than this a copy of Francis Johnson's "*Treatise of the Minis-*

¹ Plymouth Wills, vol. i. p. 53.

tery of the Church of England" (1595) came into the hands of a Boston dealer, and thence passed to our associate, Dr. Dexter, who has given a fac-simile of the autograph of Brewster which it contains, in his "Literature of Congregationalism" (p. 410). It is not accompanied by the motto, and has a firmer stroke in the writing, so that it is probably an earlier date than the others. This as well as the Athenæum volume is also in the inventory.

At the time I made a note on these autographs in the "History of America" (vol. iii. p. 287) no others were thought to be known; but two additional have since come to my knowledge. The first of these is in one of the Commentaries of David Pareus, of which the inventory shows three, including this, which is the "In Genesin Mosis Commentarius" (Frankfort, 1615). This also has the motto, and belongs to Mr. William Brewster, the ornithologist, my neighbor at Cambridge. The other of these last two is found in a volume which I chanced upon a few months ago in Woodstock, Connecticut, and it proves to be of accumulated interest for the series of autographs which it contains. The inventory at Plymouth shows "Senecas Workes, 6 shillings," and the book in question is this folio volume, being Thomas Lodge's English translation of Seneca's *Morals*, published in London in 1614. It seems to have been owned at first by two persons named Kyrbie, of whom I can find nothing, the autographs being "Edmund Kyrbie, anno domini, 1614," "Edward Kyrbye," and in a latinized form "Edvardus Kyrbie." Its interest begins with the next signature, "William Peirse his book,"—the master mariner who commanded the "Ann," which brought Edward Winslow to Plymouth in 1623, and who after that date is frequently found on the coast, now serving the Pilgrims and then the Massachusetts people. It will be remembered that Winthrop found him and his ship in Gloucester Harbor when he first touched the New England coast in 1630, and fired "two ordnance" in salutation. It will be remembered, too, that the almanac of "Mr. William Peirse mariner" was the first thing printed at Cambridge in 1639, after the little broadside of the "Freeman's Oath." How Peirse's book wandered after it arrived we learn from the next inscription: "Willm. Brewster, his booke, bought of William Peirse. Cost 10/6, in Plimouth in New England. Hebel est omnis Adam." Brewster, as I have

said, died in 1644, when the book fell to his son Love Brewster, and was by him sold the same year to the eldest son of Myles Standish, as is shown by the autograph "Alexander Standish, his booke, bought of Love Brewster, cost 16^s—1644." The next signature is of David Standish, a son of Alexander; but it was from another son of Alexander that it passed to the hands of the minister of Duxbury,—"John Robinson, his Book, 1722, bought of Thomas Standish." The next transmission was on a death-bed, for Robinson died on the same day noted in the next autograph,—"Ichabod Robinson's Book. The gift of his Rev. Father Mr. John Robinson Nov. 14, 1745." John Robinson at the time of his death was living in Lebanon, Connecticut, which was the home of Jonathan Trumbull, the later Governor of Connecticut, who had married a daughter of Robinson. Trumbull's daughter married William Williams, the Connecticut signer of the Declaration of Independence; and through this descent it seems to have passed to William T. Williams, the son of William Williams, and brother of the wife of John McClellan, who in turn received it and added his autograph, from whom it passed to its present owner, Mr. Joseph McClellan, of Woodstock.

It is possible, and perhaps probable, that some other of the four hundred books of Brewster's library may yet be found, and I venture to add to these remarks a transcript of their titles from the Plymouth Records, not only as indicative of the kind of library which he had, but as possibly assisting hereafter in the identification of some of them. It is well known that Brewster's press was active at Leyden in printing books that the censors in England condemned. The subject may very likely be further elucidated as to the extent of such printing if many other volumes in this inventory are found; but we may be quite content to leave such investigations in the hands of Dr. Dexter. I have asked his permission to quote a passage in a recent letter which came to me from him:—

"In January, 1876, after much effort I succeeded in purchasing for twenty-five dollars, of the late Charles Hammond, of Monson, a small volume in a dilapidated condition, which he had picked up in some Connecticut garret, the interest of which to me consisted in the fact that, among other things, it included a perfect copy of John Robinson's 'Peoples' Plea.' It was loosely stitched together in a manner to

make me think it might be the 'divers books sticht together' of the inventory, and priced two shillings. The first thing I did was to cut it apart, when I had before me seven small 16mo's, five of which were perfect. When laid side by side, I was immediately struck with their similar type, the same sized page, the same ornaments, and with that indescribable *tout ensemble* which declares the same printing-house. They were all of date 1618 and 1619, except that the seventh lacked the title; and this and the others were of the same office, as the worn and somewhat broken type showed. My next step was to infer, as I had always heard that the 'Plea' was printed by Elder Brewster at Leyden, that they all might have been. I then set to work to see what evidence there may be that the 'Plea' was really printed by Brewster. It has two large initial letters, each defective slightly in spots, and by comparing these (with a microscope) with like initials in books known to have been printed by Brewster at Leyden, I arrived at a moral certainty that all were his. Of such books I have three of which I suppose no reasonable doubt can be entertained, namely, 'Commentarii Succincti & Dilucidi in Proverbia Salomonis,' which has his imprint, 'Lygdvni Batavorvm. Apud Gulielmum Brevvsterum. In vico Choralii, 1617;' Cartwright's 'A Confvtation of the Rhemists Translation, Glosses and Annotations on the Nevv Testament,' (with no imprint), 1618; and the 'Perth Assembly' (no imprint), 1619. Both the latter seem well authenticated by Sir Dudley Carleton's Letters (pp. 379, 380, 390). The 'Proverbia' has but two large initials, but the 'Confutation' has twenty-six, and the 'Assembly' has six, — thirty-two in all, — offering a fair chance for comparison. As the result of a careful study of the matter, I feel morally certain that the whole ten books were printed at the same press between 1617 and 1619 inclusive, and that that press was William Brewster's."

I may be pardoned in adding a final sentence from Dr. Dexter's letter, indicative of his laborious study in the literature of the Pilgrims. He says: —

"I have never till this year succeeded in getting together what might be called a perfect set of John Robinson's original editions; yet even now I lack his 'Manvmission to a Manvdvetion' (1615), which Mr. Deane has, and his 'Appeal on Truth's Behalf,' which nobody seems to have but the Bodleian. I have abandoned all hope of ever getting his 'Answer to a Censorious Epistle,' or 'Catechism' except as published with the 1644 edition of his 'Apologie.'"

I may finally add that I found the other day, on running over the titles of John Harvard's books, — part of his endowment of the College, the list of which is preserved in the

College Records, — that Harvard had, among these companions of his pilgrimage to New England, the Essays of John Robinson, the Pilgrim Pastor.

The inventory of the library of Elder Brewster in the Plymouth Records is as follows : —

	£	s.	d.
It 2 little chatachismes	00	00	04
It 1 Lambeth on the Will of man	00	00	02
It 1 morrall discourse	00	00	02
It Discouery of Spanish Inquisition	00	00	03
It Johnson on 18 th Math	00	00	04
It Remaynes of Brittain	00	01	00
It Description of New England	00	00	04

*An Inventory of the Latten books taken by Mr. Bradford Mr Prence
and Mr Reyner May 18th 1644.¹*

	£	s.	d.
Inpris Nova Testamenti Malarato	01	04	00
It Tromelius & Junius Biblia Sacra	00	18	00
It Beza noua testament, lat & gre	01	00	00
It Centuria Selecta	00	08	00
It Calvin duodecim ⁹ phet	00	15	00
It Clausi Scriptura flacio Illirico	00	15	00
It Peter Martyr Com. prio ^r ad Corinthos	00	08	00
It Musculus ad Isaiam & Romanos	00	12	00
It Regneri prandini	00	02	06
It Ecolumnadi in Jeremia	00	03	00
It Crisostm Mattias & Joannes	00	06	00
It Musculus Psalmos David	00	12	00
It Calui at Daniel	00	05	00
It Calvi on Isay	00	15	00
It Musculus ambos Epist ad Corinthos	00	08	00
It Mollerii ad Psalmos	00	10	00
It Lanaterus Esequen	00	05	00
It Zanchi ad Ephe	00	06	00
It Syntagma amudo polo Syntagmatis theologia Chris- tian	00	10	00
It Sulteti Isaiam	00	05	00
It Purei Hoseam	00	01	00
It Gualterin Deluerin Nov Test	00	02	06
It Psalm Pagnii	00	02	06
It Pareus in Genosa	00	08	06

11. 05. 00

¹ The title of the Inventory is thus interjected in the Records.

	£	s.	d.
It Piscator in Nova Testament	00	17	00
It Pareus ad Romanos	00	05	00
It Pareus ad Priorem Corinthis	00	04	00
It Calvin Eze. vigint prima	00	03	00
It Tabula Analytice Stephano	00	01	06
It Cartwright harmā 4 Evanġl	00	05	00
It Pascillia Hemnigm	00	01	00
It De Vera Jes. Chr. Religione	00	01	00
It Erasmus in Marciñ	00	01	06
It Parkerius politica Eccle	00	05	00
It Piscator in Geneſn	00	02	00
It Kykermano Systema Physica	00	03	00
It Beza Confess. Christ	00	02	04
It Rollock in Dany	00	02	06
It Dauen in priō Juni	00	02	00
It Thom Thomaseus Dix	00	02	00
It Bastwick Apolegeticus	00	00	06
It Machauellii princeps	00	01	08
It Elenchus papistice Bastwick	00	00	06
It Rollock at Psalmos	00	02	06
It Rainoldi de Romana Eccles	00	02	06
It Calvin in Josua	00	01	00
It Syntagma Vigandus	00	01	06
It Epistola Apologetica	00	01	06
It Paraphrasa Erasmus in Luke	00	01	06
It Latina gramatica	00	00	06
It Hebrew Gramat	00	00	06
It Camden Brittan	00	03	00
It Rollock ad Romanos Ephes	00	03	00
It Dixtio. Triglott	00	01	06
It Buxtorff Lexicon	00	04	06
It Cartwright prouerbia	00	07	00
It Junii ad Ecclām Dei	00	00	03
It Tyrocinia	00	00	04
It Poemata Heringii	00	00	02
It Ad Reuerend. patres Ecclēs Anglican	00	00	06
It Amesii contra Grevin. Co.	00	00	06
It Hypomneses	00	00	03
It Antichristus prognostica	00	00	04
It Harmonia Evangelia	00	00	06

An inventory of the English books taken by Mr Bradford & Mr. Prence.

	£	s.	d.
It 1 English bible latten letter	00	08	00
It 1 English bible	00	06	00
It A new Testament	00	05	00
It Mr Ainsworths Psalms in prose & meter	00	02	00
It 1 new testament	00	01	04
It Major Coment new testament	00	12	00
It Hexapla upon Daniell	00	05	00
It 2 volumes of Mr Perkins	01	10	00
It Mr Hernes works	00	05	00
It Babingtons works	00	08	00
It Cartwright against Remisc	00	08	00
It Byfield on Coloss	00	05	00
It Dodoner Herball	00	06	00
It Mr Rogers on Judges	00	06	00
It Mr Richardson on y ^e State of Eur	00	04	00
It Knights Concord	00	05	00
It Caluin on Isay	00	06	00
It Willet on Romans	00	06	00
It Grensames works	00	10	00
It Bodens Comon weale	00	08	00
It Willet on the 1 st Samuel	00	04	00
It Surveyor by Ratborne	00	03	00
It Willet on Genesis	00	07	00
It Seneca Workes	00	06	00
It Wilcocks on Psalms	00	06	00
It Cotton's Concordance 2 volumes	00	12	00
It Scholastical discourse about the crofse	00	04	00
It Taylor upon Tytus	00	05	00
It Hill upon life Euer	00	05	00
It Wilson's Dixonor	00	06	00
It Waimes Christiā Synagogue	00	02	00
It Gibbines question & disputacons	00	02	06
It Calvin Harmon Evan.	00	06	00
It Defence of Synod of Dort by Robin	00	02	00
It Mefselina	00	03	01
It Downams Warfarr 2 Pt	00	04	00
It Barlow on 2 Tymothy	00	02	06
It Cartwrights ag ^t Whitgift 2 Pt	00	02	00
It Jackson ag ^t Misbeleefe	00	02	00
It Granger on Eccl.	00	02	00
It Brightman on Reuel.	00	05	00

	£	s.	d.
It Birdag Anti	00	02	00
It Byfield on 1 Peter	00	05	00
It Weymes on Image of God in Man	00	02	00
It Parr on Romans	00	05	00
It Robinsons Observacons	00	02	00
It Right way to go to worke	00	02	00
It Byfield's sermons on 1 Peter	00	05	00
It Dod on Commandm ^{ts}	00	02	06
It Mayor on Catholick Epistles	00	03	00
It Taylor parable on the Sower	00	02	00
It Narme of Chr. Strarr	00	02	00
It Morley of truth of religion	00	03	00
It Attersons badges of Christianity	00	02	00
It Downam Consolatrix	00	03	00
It Elton on 7 Romans	00	02	00
It A declaracon of Quintill. question	00	02	00
It Byfield on 3 of Peter	00	01	06
It 7 p ^{ble} ames against Antechrist	00	01	00
It Dike upon Repent	00	01	06
It Sibbs Soules Comfort	00	03	06
It Passions of the mynd	00	01	06
It 5 bookes of Sermons stichet together	00	01	00
It Constitucons & Cannons of ff of Cant.	00	00	02
It Wittenhall discovery of abuses	00	01	00
It Rollock on Thessal	00	02	00
It Heauen opened by Coop	00	02	00
It Treasury of smiles	00	04	00
It Downefall of Popery	00	02	00
It Saints by calling by Wilson	00	02	00
It Wittenhall discoſy of abuses	00	02	00
It Udall on Lamentacons	00	01	04
It Dyocean Tryall	00	00	06
It Sparks against Albin	00	02	06
It Wottons defence of Perkins Refor Catholicke	00	02	06
It Brinslow on Ezech	00	03	00
It Defence of Ministers reasons	00	01	06
It Downam ag ^t Bath & Wells	00	01	06
It A discourse of troubles Chu. of Amster.	00	01	06
It Mr Smyths 3 treatises	00	02	06
It Discourse of equivocation	00	01	06
It Mr Smyths paroliles	00	00	08
It A peticon for reforma ^{on}	00	00	06
It A primer of Chr. Relig.	00	00	09

	£	s.	d.
It A discourse of variance betweene pope and Venet.	00	01	00
It Broughton on Lament.	00	01	00
It Perkins on Sat. Sophist	00	00	06
It A discourse of adoracōa of Reliq ^{ua}	00	01	00
It A trew mark of Catholike Church	00	00	06
It A quodlibet to bewarr of preise	00	00	04
It Justifycacon of sepacon	00	02	00
It Storke answer to Campion	00	02	00
It Dike on the heart	00	02	00
It Perkins on 11 Hebrewes	00	03	02
It Bayne on Ephes	00	02	00
It Dike on repent. & ch. temtations	00	02	00
It Bolton on true happynes	00	01	06
It Downam ag st Beller	00	01	08
It Wotton on 1 John	00	02	00
It Gouge Armor of God	00	02	00
It Plea for Infants	00	01	06
It Dod on Commandm ^{ts}	00	03	00
It Rollock on effectual calling	00	01	10
It Calling of Jews by Finish.	00	01	00
It Prin Antearminescence	00	00	08
It Discouery by Barrow	00	03	00
It Ainsworths defence of Scripture	00	01	06
It 2 Downam's Reply ag st Bath	00	03	00
It Admonition to Parli ^{mt}	00	01	06
It Refutacon to Gifford	00	02	06
It Perth Assembly	00	01	06
It Defence of the Ministers reasons	00	01	06
It Treatise of Ministry of England	00	01	00
It Cassander Anglican ^{is}	01	01	08
It Downams warfarr	00	05	00
It The meane of mourning	00	03	00
It Hackhill History of Judges	00	00	00
It Sweeds Intelligencer	00	01	06
It Comunion of Saints	00	02	00
It Abridgment of Ministers of Lincolne	00	01	06
It Jacob Attestation	00	01	00
It Modest defence	00	03	00
It Exposicon of Canticles	00	01	00
It Whitgifte answer to a libell	00	01	00
It A reply to a libell	00	02	00
It Dupless of a Chur.	00	02	00
It Perkins on Iude	00	02	00

	£	s.	d.
It Downams 4 treatises	00	02	00
It Deareing on Hebrews	00	03	00
It A Collection of Englands Delivance	00	01	06
It 1000 notable things	00	01	06
It Riches of elder ages	00	00	00
It Dod on comandm ^{ts}	00	02	06
It Sweeds Intilligencer	00	01	06
It tymes turne coate	00	00	06
It A continuacion of adventur of Don Sebastian	00	00	04
It Surveyor Dialougs	00	01	00
It Apology Chur. of England ag st Brownists	00	01	06
It Kings declaracon about. Parli ^{am}	00	00	02
It Scyrge of Drunkerds	00	00	02
It Syons Plea	00	02	00
It Elton of Comandmts.	00	02	00
It Treatise of Chr. Religion	00	02	00
It A battaile of Palatinate	00	01	06
It Treatise 122 Psalm	00	00	06
It Concordance of yeares	00	00	06
It Cesars Tryumphs	00	00	02
It A dialogue concerneing Ceremonies	00	00	04
It Essayes about a prisoner	00	00	03
It Politike diseases	00	00	06
It Exposicon of Liturgie	00	00	08
It Magnifycent entertaynement of King James	00	00	06
It A modest defence	00	00	06
It Essex practise of treason	00	00	06
It Prosopeia	00	00	02
It Withers motto	00	00	04
It Standish for woods	00	00	06
It A recantacon of a Brownist	00	00	04
It A supply to German History	00	01	00
It Of the use of silk worms	00	00	06
It Newes from Virginia	00	00	06
It Newes from Palatinate	00	00	04
It Hacklett	00	02	00
It Byfeild on the oracles of God	00	03	02
It Gods monarchy Deuells Kingdome	00	00	04
It New shreds of old share	00	00	06
It Discharg of 5 imputacons	00	01	00
It Davids Musick	00	00	06
It Horne sheild of the Rightous	00	01	00
It Ruine of Rome	00	01	06

	£	s.	d.
It Downname on 15 Psalm	00	01	06
It Pisca Evangelica	00	01	06
It Virell on Lords prayer	00	01	06
It Answers to Cartwright	00	00	06
It Broughton on Gods Diuinitie	00	01	00
It Bayne tryall of Christ state	00	01	06
It Wheatley on Gods husbandry	00	01	00
It Exposicon on Reuelac	00	01	00
It Perkins Reformed Catholik	00	01	06
It Johnsons & Withers works	00	02	00
It 10 sermons of the supper	00	01	06
It Ciuill Conuersacon Gnahzo	00	02	00
It Smyths plea for Infants	00	00	06
It Bacons p'ficiency in Learning	00	02	00
It Arguments ag ^t seinge	00	01	06
It Theologicks	00	00	06
It Eming on James	00	01	06
It Catholike Judg	00	01	00
It The spirituall watch	00	01	00
It reasons for reformacon of Chur of Eng ^l	00	00	06
It A looking glass ag ^t Prelates	00	01	00
It A sermon of Bishop of London	00	00	06
It Resolucon for kneeling	00	00	06
It 2 Exact discouery of Romish doctrine	00	00	04
It Warr was a blefsing	00	00	06
It Midland souldier	00	00	04
It Humillitie Christians life	00	00	06
It Church Deliūance	00	01	00
It Coment on Ecclesiastic	00	00	06
It Prerogatiue of Parli ^{mt}	00	00	06
It Temple on 20 Psalm	00	01	06
It Abbott sermon	00	00	03
It Soules Implantacon	00	03	04
It A treatise of Stage pleas.	00	00	03
It Apologue of Brownists	00	00	04
It State Mistery of Jesuits	00	00	06
It Dike Schoole of affliccon	00	02	00
It Sibbs Comfort	00	01	06
It Taylor on 32 psalm	00	02	00
It Parable of the Vine by Rogers	00	02	00
It Apologeticall reply by Damfort	00	02	00
It diuers books sticht to-gether	00	02	00
It Broughton of Lamentacons	00	00	06

	£	s.	d.
It A good wyfe	00	00	03
It Northbrook against Images	00	01	06
It Tryall of truth by Chibbald	00	01	00
It The tryall of truth	00	00	04
It The paterne of true prayer	00	01	06
It Houshold gouernment	00	01	06
It Blackwells answers	00	00	04
It Aristotles probleames	00	00	06
It Symers Indictment	00	00	04
It Johnsons psalmes in meeter	00	00	04
It Mores discouery	00	00	03
It A sermon	00	00	02
It Refutacon of tolleracon	00	00	06
It Aphorismes of state	00	00	02
It Of Union betweene England & Scotland	00	00	06
It Tales of Popes custome house	00	00	04
It Of Pope Joane	00	00	04
It A dialogue betweene a gent & a preist	00	00	04
It Against kneeleing	00	00	03
It Perkins on fayth	00	00	03
It Bacons Apologye	00	00	03
It A History of Mary Glouer	00	00	03
It A bundle of smale books & papers	00	02	00
It Defyance of death	00	01	00
It A Christians apparelling	00	01	06
It Perkins on repentanc	00	00	08
It Essays by Cornwallis	00	01	06
It Spirituall stedfastnes	00	00	08
It A manuell	00	00	06
It A breiffe of bible	00	00	06
It Jacob on 2 ^d Comand ^{mt}	00	00	04
It A pill to purge popery	00	00	02
It Withers	00	00	04
It Cathologue of nobilityty of England	00	00	03
It English votaryes	00	00	06
It Sibbs Yea & Amen	00	01	06
It Sermons by Rollock	00	01	00
It Kinges Bath	00	00	08
It Great Afsise by Smyth	00	00	08
It Martin on Easter	00	01	00
It Smyth on 6 th of Hosea	00	01	06
It Discription of World	00	01	00
It Cantelus Cannon of Mafse	00	01	00

	£	s.	d.
It Perkins of Repentance	00	00	06
It Gods mcy & Jurasa misery	00	00	06
It Silū Watch bell	00	00	06
It 7 sermons by W. B.	00	00	06
It Burton ag st Cholmely	00	00	06
It Sibbs Saints p'uiledges	00	01	01
It Sibbs Riches of mercy	00	01	01
It Regla vite	00	01	01
It Pilgrimes p'fession	00	00	08
It Sermon at Pauls crofse	00	00	04
It Nature & grace	00	00	00
It Perkins of Predestinacon	00	00	06
It Spirituall trumpett	00	00	08
It Vox Regis	00	00	06
It Barrowes platforme	00	00	06
It Exposicon of Lords prayer	00	00	06
It Comon weale of England	00	00	06
It Right way of peace	00	00	06
It 4 th pt of true watch	00	01	00
It Johnson on Psalms	00	01	00
It Byfeild paterne of	00	01	00
It Duke promises	00	00	06
It A help to memorye	00	00	06
It pposicons by John Sprint	00	00	11
It The morality of law	00	00	06
It Cases of Conscience by Per	00	01	00
It Discouery of famyly of love	00	00	06
It Sermon of repentance	00	00	06
It Sermon at Pauls crosse	00	00	06
It Sibbs spirituall maxims	00	00	09
It Memorable conceits	00	01	00
It God & the Kinge	00	00	04
It Smyth on Riddle of Nebuchudnez.	00	00	08
It Estey on Comand ^{nt} & 51 st Psalm	00	01	00
It Christians dayly walk	00	01	06
It Exposicon of 11 & 12 Revelacon	00	00	06
It Treatise of English medicines	00	00	06
It A dialogue of desiderias	00	00	06
It A supplycacon to the King	00	00	06
It Abba father	00	00	06
It Abrahams tryall discourse	00	01	00
It Jacobbs ladder	00	01	06
It Perkins of Imagina	00	00	06

	£	s.	d.
It Burton Christi question	00	00	06
It A toyle for 2 legged foxes	00	00	06
It A cordiall for comfort	00	00	06
It Zacheus conuersion	00	02	01
It Spirituall touchstone	00	00	03
It Dearmies advantage	00	00	06
It Englands summons	00	00	06
It Burton wooing his Church	00	00	04
It Goulden Key	00	01	00
It A remedy against famine & warr	00	00	06
It Treatise against popery	00	01	00
It Treatise of Gods religion	00	00	08
The totall of both Latten & English books amounts to			
the sum of	42	19	11
The totall of both goods & bookes amounts in all to	150	00	07

W^m. BRADFORD.

THO. PRENCE.

Mr. WASHBURN expressed his pleasure at hearing Captain Davidson's conclusions in regard to the alleged discovery of the Bay of San Francisco by Sir Francis Drake. This opinion he had reached many years ago, — that Sir Francis never discovered, much less entered, that bay, because he would have used very different language in regard to it. Three years ago, on a vacation voyage, he had himself visited the harbor of San Francisco, approaching it from the south, and he was more than ever confirmed in his opinion. Indeed, this was one of the instances of an unfounded supposition carelessly entertained and disseminated among the people until at last it is accepted. Similarly erroneous was the statement which Keats embodied in his well-known line about Cortez, —

“ Silent upon a peak in Darien; ”

whereas Cortez never was in Darien, and it seems as certain that Sir Francis Drake was never in the Bay of San Francisco.

Dr. EVERETT gave as another example of a widely prevalent belief, which may be destitute of foundation, the statement that Jefferson Davis was one of the repudiators of the obligations of Mississippi, whereas it does not appear that he was a member of the legislature of that State at the time.

APRIL MEETING, 1887.

THE Annual Meeting was held at noon on the 14th instant, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS being in the chair.

The Recording Secretary's report of the last meeting was read and accepted.

The list of donors to the Library was presented by the Librarian.

The PRESIDENT alluded to the Index of the first twenty volumes of the Proceedings which had been recently published under the direction of Messrs. Charles Deane and Charles F. Adams. Prefixed to the Index is a table giving the date when each volume was issued, and the names of the Committees of Publication.

Mr. GEORGE S. HALE read some unpublished letters, — one of Dec. 18, 1799, from Mrs. Abigail Adams to her sister Mrs. Mary Cranch, announcing the death of George Washington, which is given in full below; also letters of 1818 and 1825, from Salma Hale to Arthur Livermore, of New Hampshire; and one of 1818 from Thomas Jefferson to Salma Hale on some then recent publications in regard to the Unitarian controversy, indicative of the religious views of Mr. Jefferson, reserved for publication in a biographical sketch of Mr. Hale.

PHILADELPHIA, December 18th 1799.

Death, thou art no respecter of persons; Washington is no more! A great man has fallen, and his end is peace. "I shall dye," said he, "but Death has no terrors for me." This melancholy event was this day brought to this city by the mail and by private letters. The Croup was the rapid disease which put a period to the days of him whose memory will, I trust, be embalmed in the Hearts of all true Americans — every countenance is covered with gloom. What a fair, what a virtuous character will survive him, I had almost said how enviable that call of his Master which has not permitted him to exhibit to the world a state of imbecility and bodily decay, which frequently effaces from the memory and recollection the more shining and brilliant actions of early life

by reducing the body, and weakening the faculties of the mind. In a better world I trust he will receive the reward of a good and faithful servant. The stroke is so sudden, and so unexpected, that we have scarcely collected our thoughts, the Heads of Departments are now in consultation with the president upon what measures are proper to be taken upon the occasion as it respects going into mourning. I received your letter of Dec^r 8th. I thank you for the information contained, I am really solicitous to have Mr Whitney settled with us, and shall very much regret if a niggardly parsimony should prevent it.

We had last evening a terrible fire, and but a very little way from us, it was the greatest I ever saw, or was so near, it did not do so much damage as many fires have, but a large circus of pine boards, canvas and tar are combustible sufficient to have burnt down half the city, the wind carried it from us, or no one can tell where or when it would have stoped. It was as near to us as Mr Baxter's is to you. Water was much wanted, every pump having been dried and exhausted before the fire could be got under. Congress Hall was in great danger, the weather was very cold, the houses fortunately had snow upon them.

I had so little rest last night, and the melancholy News of the day has so much exhausted me, that I must close for to Night assuring you that I am

Your truly affectionate Sister

A ADAMS.

Pray have my letters covered to the president, unless Mr Cranch puts his Name upon them, they must pay the postage, the two last cost me 40 cents a piece.

Mrs. MARY CRANCH, QUINCY.

Dr. GREEN presented from Mrs. Sibley, widow of the late John Langdon Sibley, a large and handsomely framed portrait of the Rev. Dr. A. P. Peabody, recently painted by F. P. Vinton.

A portrait of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Cooper¹ by Copley,

¹ Samuel Cooper, D.D., third minister of Brattle Street Church in Boston, succeeded his father in the pastorate, which he held for thirty-seven years. He was born March 28, 1725, was ordained May 21, 1746, and died Dec. 20, 1783. He was active and influential as a patriot in the Revolution, and to him Dr. Franklin sent the letters of Hutchinson. In 1774 he was elected to the presidency of Harvard College, but declined the office. He was one of the founders of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and was chosen its first Vice-President in 1780. He died at the age of fifty-eight. — Eds.

which had been bequeathed to the Society by the late Dr. Lothrop, was received from Mr. Thornton K. Lothrop.

Mr. GOODELL called attention to a book which had been given to the Library, entitled "Memoir of Kosciusko," by the late A. W. W. Evans, and printed for private distribution only, which contains an engraved profile head of Washington from a pastel miniature by Mrs. James Sharpless. Mr. Goodell stated that he had reasons for believing that this miniature was the original from which Major Walter derived the oil portrait in profile which he recently exhibited in this city, and autotype copies of which appear in his "Memorials of Washington."

Dr. OLIVER communicated a memoir which he had written of the late Rev. Dr. Hoppin; and Mr. SMITH presented a memoir of the late Lucius Manlius Sargent, which had been prepared by Mr. E. J. LOWELL.

The Recording Secretary communicated a report from the committee which had been appointed to publish selections from the manuscripts of Timothy Pickering, which stated that in their opinion it was not expedient to make the publication. By vote of the Society, a new committee, consisting of Messrs. E. J. Lowell, Wolcott, and McCleary, was appointed to prepare a volume of other writings included in the Pickering papers.

The TREASURER read the following letter:—

APRIL 13, 1887.

MY DEAR MR. SMITH,—The reading of your very interesting report has brought to a definite result a wish floating in my mind for a long time past.

The enclosed check to your official order is a gift to the Massachusetts Historical Society. The conditions of the gift are these:—

First, That until I further determine, or till my death, the fund be known as *the* or *an* "Anonymous Fund."

Second, That the name of the giver be only disclosed to the President, Vice-Presidents, and Treasurer of the Society, and their successors.

Third, That, as it is my purpose to add to this fund, if possible, during my lifetime, the fund to be used, until I further determine, for the general purposes of the Society.

Fourth, That the amount of the gift and its conditions be communicated to the Society for its acceptance, or to the Council alone if their acceptance be sufficient.

In conclusion, I particularly desire that my name be not entered

on the Treasurer's books, nor recorded in any other way than by the deposit of this letter in a sealed envelope among the Society's papers.

I am, yours very faithfully.

The TREASURER then proposed the following votes, which were passed unanimously :—

Voted, That the gift to the Society of the sum of \$1,000 from an anonymous source be and is hereby gratefully accepted, and that the Treasurer be instructed to enter the same on his books as the "Anonymous Fund," and to hold the principal and any additions thereto under that designation, until the injunction to secrecy is removed by the permission of the giver or at his death.

Voted, That, until otherwise directed, the income of said Fund be applied to the general purposes of the Society.

The business of the Annual Meeting was then taken up, and the following reports were presented :—

Report of the Council.

The return of our Annual Meeting finds the Society in a prosperous condition.

The most gratifying event in our affairs has been the full payment of the mortgage debt on this estate, which relieves it from all incumbrance, except so far as some of our special funds are invested in it.

Our Treasurer has supplemented his usual Report with a brief history of our estate since it has been occupied by the Society, retracing the various circumstances under which it came into our possession, and recalling the names and the gifts of our early benefactors, all of whom deserve our grateful remembrance. In thus bringing to light again an almost forgotten page of its history the Treasurer has rendered a good service to the Society.

During the year we have been called to mourn the death of four Resident Members,—Rev. Dr. Samuel K. Lothrop, Amos A. Lawrence, Esq., Charles C. Perkins, Esq., and Hon. Charles Francis Adams.

Two of our Corresponding Members have died,—Hon.

John Russell Bartlett and Rev. Dr. William G. Eliot; and from our roll of Honorary Members we have lost the veteran historian, Prof. Leopold von Ranke. Five Resident Members have been elected, — Prof. William W. Goodwin, Hon. George F. Hoar, Rev. A. V. G. Allen, Gen. Charles G. Loring, and Rev. Octavius B. Frothingham. We have added to our list of Corresponding Members Hon. William A. Courtenay, Alexander Johnston, and Prof. Mandell Creighton of Cambridge, England; and we have chosen one Honorary Member of the Society, — the Very Rev. Charles Merivale, of England, Dean of Ely. Three vacancies exist in our list of Resident Members.

Within the year the Society has published in the Collections the first volume of the Sewall Letters, and the second volume of the second series of Proceedings, with an admirable Index to the first twenty volumes.

The historical and literary contributions of individual members have been numerous and valuable. They include: —

Life of Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin. By Thomas C. Amory.

Class Memoir of George W. Warren. By Thomas C. Amory.

City Government of Boston. By James M. Bugbee.

An Address at the Dedication of Wilson Hall, at Dartmouth College.

By Mellen Chamberlain.

A Review of McMasters' History of the United States. By Mellen Chamberlain.

Landscape in Life and in Poetry. By Mellen Chamberlain.

Remarks at Concord, New Hampshire, at the Dedication of the Statue of Daniel Webster. By Mellen Chamberlain.

Address at the Dedication of the Brooks Library Building, Brattleborough, Vermont. By Mellen Chamberlain.

John and Sebastian Cabot. By Charles Deane.

A Summary of the History of New England. By Charles Deane.

The Connection of Massachusetts with Slavery and the Slave Trade. By Charles Deane.

Address on the Services of Washington. By William Everett.

Discourse delivered in the First Church, Plymouth. By William Everett.

Discourse at the Memorial Services of Arthur Holmes Wood. By William Everett.

The Sharpless Pictures: A Rejoinder. By Abner C. Goodell.

Groton Historical Series. Nos. 11 to 20. By Samuel A. Green.

Ezekiel Cheever: Additional Notes. By John T. Hassam.

Catalogue of the Boston Public Latin School, established in 1635, with an Historical Sketch prepared by Henry F. Jenks.

Unrealized Ideals: A Discourse at Canton in Commemoration of Robert Draper. By Henry F. Jenks.

Democracy and other Addresses. By James Russell Lowell.

Life of Thomas H. Benton. By Theo. Roosevelt. Published in the American Statesmen Series. Edited by John T. Morse, Jr.

Rambles in Old Boston, New England. By Edward G. Porter.

Diocese of Massachusetts: Its Historical Acquisitions and Wants. By Edmund F. Slafter.

History of the Second Army Corps in the Army of the Potomac. By Francis A. Walker.

The Old State House Defended. By William H. Whitmore.

Tenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Reports of the Record Commissioners. By William H. Whitmore and William S. Appleton.

Fourth volume of Addresses and Speeches. By Robert C. Winthrop.

Substitutes for Religion. By Edward J. Young.

Cyclopædia of Painters and Painting. Edited by Charles C. Perkins.

Franklin in France. By Edward E. Hale.

Moral Philosophy: A Series of Lectures. By Andrew P. Peabody.

The Monarch of Dreams. By Thomas W. Higginson.

The College and the Church. By Alexander McKenzie.

An Address delivered before the New York Historical Society on its Eighty-second Anniversary. By George E. Ellis.

Fifth volume of the Narrative and Critical History of America. Edited by Justin Winsor.

We should not forget to mention also, with high appreciation, Mr. Winsor's faithful labors on the College Bulletin, especially in the Department of Cartography.

A peculiarly acceptable gift of one thousand dollars has recently been received from Charles Deane and George C. Lord, executors of the will of Robert Waterston, which sum is to be expended in preparing a much needed catalogue of our rare collection of manuscripts.

The Executive Committee congratulate the Society on its continued prosperity, and upon the record of work accomplished during the past year, which amply testifies to the industry and zeal of our members in historical pursuits, and promises to the Society the best results in the future.

ABBOTT LAWRENCE, *Chairman.*

Report of the Librarian.

During the year there have been added to the Library:—

Books	662
Pamphlets	2,910
Volumes of newspapers	5
Unbound volumes of newspapers	26
Broadsides	54
Maps	33
Volumes of manuscripts	18
Manuscripts	691
In all	4,399

Of the books added, 571 have been given, 85 bought, and 6 obtained by exchange. Of the pamphlets added, 2,650 have been given, 162 bought, and 98 procured by exchange.

From the income of the Savage Fund, there have been bought 85 volumes and 162 pamphlets; and 31 volumes have been bound at the charge of the same fund.

From the income of the William Winthrop Fund, 153 volumes have been bound.

Until his death in August last, Mr. Amos A. Lawrence continued his gift of works relating to the Civil War, having added 44 volumes and 37 pamphlets.

Of the books added to the Rebellion department, 65 have been given and 42 bought; and of the pamphlets added, 257 have been given, and 62 bought. There are now in this collection 1,552 volumes, 4,011 pamphlets, 749 broadsides, and 86 maps.

In the collection of manuscripts there are now 685 volumes, 157 unbound volumes, 73 pamphlets with manuscript notes, and 5,966 manuscripts.

The Library contains at the present time about 32,000 volumes, including the files of bound newspapers, the bound manuscripts, and the Dowse Collection. The number of pamphlets, including duplicates, is 81,600; and the number of broadsides, including duplicates, is 2,853.

During the year there have been taken out 61 books and 3 pamphlets, and all have been returned; though with this statement it should be said that the Library is used much more for reference than for circulation.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL A. GREEN, *Librarian.*

Boston, April 14, 1887.

Report of the Cabinet-keeper.

During the past year there have been added to the Cabinet one marble bust, eight paintings, seven of which are portraits, and forty-five engravings, besides several photographs, heliotypes, and various miscellaneous articles.

Among the paintings are a portrait of Webster by Harding, of Carroll by Sully, of Wellington by Salter, of Dr. Samuel Cooper by Copley, and a miniature of Oliver Cromwell by Cooper; also a full-length portrait of our distinguished associate, Dr. A. P. Peabody, by Vinton. The marble bust is of Alexander Hamilton, after the original, by Houdon.

The following is a complete list of the donations for the year, with the names of the donors:—

A marble bust of Alexander Hamilton, after the original, by Houdon. Given by Mrs. Nathaniel Thayer.

A painting of Charles Carroll, by Thomas Sully. Given by George B. Chase.

A miniature of Oliver Cromwell, by Samuel Cooper, which once belonged to Thomas Jefferson. Given by Robert C. Winthrop.

A painting of the Apostle Eliot with the Indians, by Whall.

A painting of the Duke of Wellington, by Salter.

A painting of Daniel Webster, by Chester Harding. These three given by bequest of the late John H. Eastburn.

Two bills, 1806 and 1807. Given by Dr. F. E. Oliver.

An engraving of John Langdon Sibley, by J. A. J. Wilcox, April, 1886. Given by his widow, Mrs. Sibley.

A photograph of the Hon. John Avery.

A photograph of Mrs. Mary Avery. Given by Mrs. Mary Mansfield Patterson.

An engraving of the "City Graded Schools," Charlotte, North Carolina, by Samuel Sartain. Given by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

A heliotype of Andrew Oliver, after a painting by Copley.

A heliotype of Peter Oliver, after a painting by Copley. Given by Dr. F. E. Oliver.

A photograph of the house No. 37 Somerset Street, 1885, which stood on the New Court House site. Given by Solomon B. Stebbins.

A cent of 1837. Given by Charles C. Smith.

A photograph of Bunker Hill Monument, and views of Lawrence, Kansas, and Boston, Massachusetts. Given by Amos A. Lawrence.

A view of the town of Falmouth, burnt by Captain Moet, 1775. Given by Charles E. Banks.

A lithographic view of the St. Paul Ice Palace, 1886. Given by Edward J. Young.

Photographs of the flag of the Harvard Washington Corps, Cambridge. Given by Edward Channing.

Seal of the Atlantic Silk Company, Nantucket. Given by Mrs. Martha Washington Jenks.

A lithograph of Ginery Twichell. Given by Charles C. Smith.

A painting of Lucius Manlius Sargent, by Henry C. Pratt, about 1856. Given by John J. Pratt.

An engraving of Samuel Osgood by Frederick Halpin, after a painting by Thomas Le Clear.

An engraving of Mrs. J. R. Vincent, by the William H. Brett Engraving Company.

A photograph of the tablets erected at Concord, in 1885. Given by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

An engraving of Phillis Wheatley. Given by James M. Bugbee.

A photograph of an Indian burial-urn found on the island of Ossabaw. Given by William Harden.

A photograph of Messrs. Crocker and Brewster.

A photograph of Ebenezer Gay, H. U. 1814.

An engraving of H. G. Cleveland, by H. B. McLellan. Given by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

A photograph of the interior of the Old South Church, taken by B. L. Willoughby, 1886. Given by Mr. Willoughby.

A lithographic view of Groton, Massachusetts, 1886. Given by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

A lithographic view of Millbury, Massachusetts, 1880. Given by C. B. Tillinghast.

A button bearing the word "Massachusetts." Given by James Freeman Clarke.

An engraving of Thomas G. Stevenson, by H. B. McLellan. Given by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

Six engravings. Given by Hubbard Winslow Bryant.

Phototypes of William Lloyd Garrison. Given by Francis J. Garrison.

An engraving of Charles Cleveland, by H. B. McLellan. Given by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

Photographs of Hollis Street Church, interior of King's Chapel, and of coins, taken by Baldwin Coolidge.

Photograph of the Fairbanks House, Dedham, 1886, taken by Baldwin Coolidge. Given by Mr. Coolidge.

Thirty-one engravings. Given by Albert O. Crane.

A painting of the Rev. Dr. A. P. Peabody, by F. P. Vinton. Given by Mrs. John Langdon Sibley.

A painting of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Cooper, by Copley, bequeathed by the Rev. S. K. Lothrop, D.D.

For a full account of the above, see Record Book, pages 80-84.

The Cabinet is at present in good order and condition, only requiring additional room for its constantly increasing donations.

All which is respectfully submitted,

F. E. OLIVER, *Cabinet-keeper.*

Boston, April 14, 1887.

Report of the Treasurer.

In compliance with the requirements of the By-laws, Chapter VII., Article 1, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report, made up to March 31, 1887.

The special funds held by him are nine in number, and are as follows:—

I. THE APPLETON FUND, which was created Nov. 18, 1854, by a gift to the Society, from Nathan Appleton, William Appleton, and Nathaniel I. Bowditch, trustees under the will of the late Samuel Appleton, of stocks of the appraised value of ten thousand dollars. These stocks were subsequently sold for \$12,203, at which sum the fund now stands. The income is applicable to "the procuring, preserving, preparation, and publication of historical papers."

II. THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST-FUND, which now stands, with the accumulated income, at \$10,000. This fund originated in a gift of two thousand dollars from the late Hon. David Sears, presented Oct. 15, 1855, and accepted by the Society Nov. 8, 1855. On Dec. 26, 1866, it was increased by a gift of five hundred dollars from Mr. Sears, and another of the same amount from our late associate, Mr. Nathaniel Thayer. The income must be appropriated in accordance with the directions in Mr. Sears's declaration of trust in the printed Proceedings for November, 1855. The cost of publishing the first volume of the Trumbull Papers was charged to the income of this fund; and some payments have also been made toward the cost of publishing a second volume, now nearly ready for publication.

III. THE DOWSE FUND, which was given to the Society by George Livermore and Eben. Dale, executors of the will of the late Thomas Dowse, April 9, 1857, for the "safe keeping" of the Dowse Library. It amounts to \$10,000.

IV. THE PEABODY FUND, which was presented by the late George Peabody, in a letter dated Jan. 1, 1867, and now amounts to \$22,123. It is invested in the seven per cent bonds of the Boston and Albany Railroad Co., payable in 1892, and a deposit in the Suffolk Savings Bank; and the income is only available for the publication and illustration of the Society's Proceedings and Memoirs, and for the preservation of the Society's Historical Portraits.

V. THE SAVAGE FUND, which was a bequest from the late Hon. James Savage, received in June, 1873, and now stands on the books at the sum of \$5,295. It is invested at present in the six per cent bonds of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad Co., payable in April, 1887,¹ and in the stock of the Boston Gas-Light Co. The income is to be used for the increase of the Society's Library.

VI. THE ERASTUS B. BIGELOW FUND, which was given in February, 1881, by Mrs. Helen Bigelow Merriman, in recognition of her father's interest in the work of the Society. The original sum was one thousand dollars; but the interest up to this date having been added to the principal, it now stands at \$1,427.77. There is no restriction as to the use to be made of this fund.

VII. THE WILLIAM WINTHROP FUND, which amounts to the sum of \$3,000, and was received Oct. 13, 1882, under the will of the late William Winthrop, for many years a Corresponding Member of the Society. The income is to be applied "to the binding for better preservation of the valuable manuscripts and books appertaining to the Society."

VIII. THE RICHARD FROTHINGHAM FUND, which represents a gift to the Society, on the 23d of March, 1883, from the widow of our late Treasurer, of a certificate of twenty

¹ Since this report was put in type these bonds have been paid off; and as they were purchased at ninety per cent of their par value, the amount of the Fund as it stands on the Treasurer's books will be raised to \$5,795. The sum received by the payment of the bonds (\$5,000) has been applied toward the purchase of the first mortgage trust bonds of the Chicago and West Michigan Railroad Co., and will be a charge on the real estate and on the consolidated investments.

shares in the Union Stock Yard and Transit Co., of Chicago, and of the stereotype plates of Mr. Frothingham's "Siege of Boston," "Life of Joseph Warren," and "Rise of the Republic." The fund stands on the Treasurer's books at \$3,000. There are no restrictions on the uses to which the income may be applied. In accordance with a vote of the Society passed March 12, 1885, the cost of publishing a Catalogue of the Society's Cabinet was charged to the income of this fund.

IX. THE GENERAL FUND, which now amounts to \$7,350. It represents the following gifts and payments to the Society:—

1. A gift of two thousand dollars from the residuary estate of the late MARY PRINCE TOWNSEND, by the executors of her will, William Minot and William Minot, Jr., in recognition of which, by a vote of the Society, passed June 13, 1861, the Treasurer was "directed to make and keep a special entry in his account books of this contribution as the donation of Miss Mary P. Townsend."

2. A legacy of two thousand dollars from the late HENRY HARRIS, received in July, 1867.

3. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late GEORGE BEMIS, received in March, 1879.

4. A gift of one hundred dollars from the late RALPH WALDO EMERSON, received in April, 1881.

5. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late WILLIAMS LATHAM, received in May, 1884.

6. A bequest of five shares in the Cincinnati Gas-Light and Coke Co. from our late Recording Secretary, GEORGE DEXTER, received in June, 1884.

7. Five commutation fees of one hundred and fifty dollars each.

The fund is invested in an eight per cent bond of the Quincy and Palmyra Railroad Co., for one thousand dollars, payable in 1892, and five shares of stock in the Cincinnati Gas-Light and Coke Co., of the par value of one hundred dollars each. Fifty-eight hundred and fifty dollars have been paid from it toward the reduction of the mortgage debt.

The following abstracts and the trial balance show the present condition of the several accounts:—

CASH ACCOUNT.

DEBITS.

1886.		
March 31.	To balance on hand	\$1,845.34
1887.		
March 31.	To receipts as follows:—	
	General Account	12,050.67
	Commutation Fee	150.00
	Income of Peabody Fund	1,470.00
	Income of Savage Fund	350.00
	Income of Richard Frothingham Fund	237.70
		<u>\$16,103.71</u>
March 31.	To balance brought down	\$502.28

CREDITS.

1887.		
March 31.	By payments as follows:—	
	Reduction of mortgage debt	\$4,000.00
	Investments	3,007.25
	Income of Peabody Fund	4,214.32
	Income of Savage Fund	801.85
	Income of William Winthrop Fund	134.30
	Income of Appleton Fund	68.80
	General Account	3,874.91
	By balance on hand	502.28
		<u>\$16,103.71</u>

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

DEBITS

1887.		
March 31.	To sundry payments:—	
	J. H. Tuttle, salary	\$1,500.00
	A. B. Page, salary	500.00
	Interest on mortgage	288.34
	Printing Sewall's Letter Book	675.08
	Printing, stationery, binding, and postage	292.48
	Fuel and light	135.00
	Care of fire, etc.	352.59
	Miscellaneous expenses and repairs	136.42
	Income of Appleton Fund	732.18
	Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	600.00
	Income of Dowse Fund	600.00
	Income of E. B. Bigelow Fund	80.82
	Income of William Winthrop Fund	180.00
	Sinking Fund	2,000.00
	Building Account	10,429.48
		<u>\$18,497.39</u>
March 31.	To balance brought down	\$1,214.73

1886.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$4,631.99	
1887.			
March 31.	By sundry receipts:—		
	Rent of Building	9,000.00	
	Income of General Fund	167.25	
	Interest	57.70	
	Income of Dowse Fund	600.00	
	Admission Fees	125.00	
	Assessments	870.00	
	Sales of publications	840.72	
	Gift from the residuary estate of Robert Waterston	1,000.00	
	By balance to new account	1,214.73	
		<u>\$18,497.39</u>	

Income of Appleton Fund.

1887.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To amount paid for printing and binding	\$68.80	
	„ balance carried forward	2,068.94	
		<u>\$3,037.74</u>	

1886.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$2,305.56	
1887.			
March 31.	„ one year's interest on \$12,203 principal	732.18	
		<u>\$3,037.74</u>	
March 31.	By balance brought down	\$2,968.94	

Income of William Winthrop Fund.

1887.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To amount paid for binding	134.30	
	„ balance carried forward	46.90	
		<u>\$181.20</u>	

1886.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$1.20	
1887.			
March 31.	„ interest on \$3,000 principal	\$180.00	
		<u>\$181.20</u>	
March 31.	By balance brought down	\$46.90	

Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund.

1886.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By amount brought forward	\$705.73	
Oct. 1.	" one year's interest on \$10,000 principal	600.00	
		<u>\$1,305.73</u>	
1887.			
March 31.	By balance brought down	\$1,305.73	

Income of Richard Frothingham Fund.

1886.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$151.70	
1887.			
March 31.	" dividends received	\$160.00	
	" copyright received	77.70	
		<u>\$389.40</u>	
March 31.	By amount brought down	\$389.40	

Income of Douse Fund

1887.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To amount placed to credit of General Account	\$600.00	
1887.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By one year's interest on \$10,000 principal	\$600.00	

Income of Peabody Fund.

1886.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To balance brought forward	\$301.27	
1887.			
March 31.	" amount paid for printing, binding, preservation of historical portraits, etc.	\$4,214.32	
		<u>\$4,515.59</u>	
March 31.	To balance brought down	\$3,045.59	
1887.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By one year's interest on railroad bonds	1,470.00	
	" balance carried forward	3,045.59	
		<u>\$4,515.59</u>	

Income of Savage Fund.

1887.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To amount paid for books	\$301.85	
	„ balance carried forward	51.63	
		<u>\$353.48</u>	
1886.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$3.48	
1887.			
March 31.	„ dividends on gas stock	50.00	
	„ interest on railroad bonds	300.00	
		<u>\$353.48</u>	
March 31.	By balance brought down	\$51.63	

Sinking Fund.

1886.		DEBITS.	
July 17.	To amount applied to reduction of mortgage	\$2,000.00	
1886.		CREDITS.	
June 30.	By amount transferred from the General Account	\$2,000.00	

TRIAL BALANCE.

		DEBITS.	
Cash		\$502.28	
Real Estate		103,280.19	
Investments		34,925.25	
Income of Peabody Fund		3,045.59	
General Account		1,214.73	
		<u>\$142,968.04</u>	
		CREDITS.	
Building Account		63,806.67	
Appleton Fund		12,203.00	
Dowse Fund		10,000.00	
Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund		10,000.00	
Peabody Fund		22,123.00	
Savage Fund		5,295.00	
Erastus B. Bigelow Fund		1,427.77	
William Winthrop Fund		3,000.00	
Richard Frothingham Fund		3,000.00	
General Fund		7,350.00	
Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund		1,305.73	
Income of Appleton Fund		2,968.94	
Income of Savage Fund		51.63	
Income of William Winthrop Fund		46.90	
Income of Richard Frothingham Fund		389.40	
		<u>\$142,968.04</u>	

During the year the balance of the mortgage note given at the time of the reconstruction of the Society's building has been paid off; and in connection with this announcement it may be of interest to retrace the history of the estate since it has been occupied by the Society. In March, 1833, the Society purchased for the sum of \$6,500, from the Provident Institution for Savings, "the second story of the edifice lately erected by said Provident Institution in Boston, bounded westerly on Tremont Street, and southerly on the Chapel Burying-grounds, together with one half of the attic story of said building, with a privilege in the entries and stairways." The purchase was for cash, and was met in part by a special subscription of \$5,000 from sixty-four gentlemen, of whom the larger number were not members, and in part by the proceeds of the Treasurer's notes for \$1,500. The names of the subscribers and the sums contributed by them are as follows:

Samuel Appleton	\$300	Henry Codman	\$50
James Bowdoin	300	Otis Everett	50
Peter C. Brooks	300	George Hallett	50
Jonathan Phillips	300	Charles Lowell	50
Francis C. Gray	200	Edward Miller	50
John Q. Adams	100	Edmund Munroe	50
Amos Binney	100	Israel Munson	50
Benjamin Bussey	100	Francis Parkman	50
Joseph Coolidge	100	George Parkman	50
Benjamin W. Crowninshield	100	Thomas H. Perkins	50
John Davis	100	Lucius M. Sargent	50
Samuel Dorr	100	Lemuel Shaw	50
John C. Gray	100	Jared Sparks	50
Abbott Lawrence	100	Israel Thorndike	50
Amos Lawrence	100	George Ticknor	50
John Lowell	100	Samuel Whitwell	50
John Parker	100	John D. Williams	50
Josiah Quincy	100	Timothy Williams	50
John Randall	100	Samuel Fales	30
James Savage	100	Joseph P. Bradlee	25
George C. Shattuck	100	Samuel P. Gardner	25
Robert G. Shaw	100	Benjamin R. Nichols	25
Artemas Ward	100	Samuel Swett	25
John Welles	100	Joshua Clapp	20
Thomas L. Winthrop	100	Edward Cruft	20
Stephen White	100	Samuel A. Dorr	20
Nathan Appleton	50	Nathan Hale	20
Ebenezer T. Andrews	50	Abiel Holmes	20
Samuel T. Armstrong	50	Elijah Loring	20
James T. Austin	50	Daniel P. Parker	20
George Bond	50	Benjamin T. Pickman	20
John Borland	50	Thomas Bartlett	10
			\$5,000

The Treasurer's notes were paid in 1835 out of the net proceeds (\$1,816.66) of a legacy of \$2,000 left to the Society by Christopher Gore, its second President, who died in March, 1827.

In March, 1856, about the time when the Provident Institution removed to Temple Place, the Society purchased of that institution "their entire right and title to the land and the building thereon, occupied by them and this Society, for the sum of thirty-five thousand dollars," and leased the lower story of the building to the Suffolk Savings Bank, for the term of fifteen years, at an annual rent of \$2,200. By this purchase the Society became the sole owner of the estate. The money to complete the transaction was obtained by mortgaging the entire property for \$27,500, and by using "a part of the subscriptions of sundry individuals for the benefit of the Society." From the Treasurer's books it appears that the following gentlemen gave for this specific object the sums set against their names:—

Nathan Appleton	\$2,000	Peter C. Brooks	\$270
Jonathan Phillips	2,000	John E. Thayer	200
Josiah Quincy	1,000	Edward Everett	250
John C. Gray	500	Charles F. Adams	100
William Appleton	500	Robert C. Winthrop	100
Francis C. Gray	250		
			<u>\$7,200</u>

The remaining sum (\$300) was apparently taken from subscriptions not restricted to any special use; but it is not possible to identify the donors.

The mortgage was paid off in April, 1863, by applying to it the proceeds of the Appleton Fund (\$12,203); the amount of the Dowse Fund (\$10,000); a part of the accumulated income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund (\$500); the sum received from the executors of the will of the late Miss Mary P. Townsend, to which reference is made in another place in this report (\$2,000); a part of the proceeds and dividends received from a bequest of \$1,000 to the Society by an honored associate, the late Nathaniel Ingersoll Bowditch, who died in April, 1861 (\$1,600); and a further sum of \$1,197, which was given to extinguish the debt by another member, the late William Sturgis, at that time one of the committee to examine the Treasurer's accounts.

On the expiration of the lease to the Savings Bank it became evident to every member that it was of the utmost importance to the Society to obtain an increased income, and that for this purpose it would be necessary to erect a new and larger building. This was accordingly done in 1872, at a cost of \$61,780.19, and a lease was made to the City of Boston of the portions of the building now occupied by the Probate Court and the Registry of Deeds, for a term of fifteen years from January 1, 1873, at the rate of \$9,000 per annum. To meet this large expenditure the estate was mortgaged for five years from April, 1872, for \$60,000, with interest at the rate of seven per cent per annum, and the sum of \$1,780.19 became a charge on the current income of the Society. In 1877 the mortgage was renewed at the rate of five per cent per annum for the first year, and six per cent for the next four years, and in 1882 it was again renewed at the rate of five per cent per annum. The principal has been paid by instalments within the last ten years, — \$44,953.05 having been charged in part to the Sinking Fund and in part reserved from the annual income, and \$15,046.95 having been treated as an incumbrance on the property for permanent funds to that amount. The real estate is now subject to the following incumbrances: the principal of the Appleton Fund (\$12,203), of the Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund (\$10,000), of the Dowse Fund (\$10,000), of the Erastus B. Bigelow Fund (\$1,427.77), and of the William Winthrop Fund (\$3,000), and a part of the principal of the General Fund (\$5,850), making in the aggregate \$42,480.77, from which sum is to be deducted the amount (\$3,007.25) reinvested since the extinction of the mortgage debt.

Besides the various gifts represented by the permanent funds or applied to the purchase of the real estate and the extinction of the first mortgage, the Society has been indebted to numerous benefactors whose gifts or subscriptions have been applicable to special objects or to the current needs of the Society. From the loss of the early books of the Treasurer, which were burned in the fire in Court Street in November, 1825, and from the fact that some contributions did not pass through the hands of the Treasurer it is not possible to give a complete list of these benefactions; but the following statement is submitted as approximately correct. The earliest

gift of which any record has been found was in January, 1794, when Messrs. William Scollay, Charles Bulfinch, and Charles Vaughan offered to the Society the upper apartment in the centre building of the Tontine Crescent in Franklin Place as a gift. This generous offer was thankfully accepted; and for nearly forty years this "room over the arch" was occupied by the Society for its library and meetings. Finally the estate was sold, in June, 1839, to the proprietors of the Boston Library, for the sum of \$1,500. Three months after this gift, at the annual meeting in 1794, the President of the Society, James Sullivan, presented to it the sum of \$200, being the proceeds of a sale of the copyright of his "History of the District of Maine." In 1796 seventeen members of the Society, whose names are printed in an editorial note to the Proceedings,¹ subscribed \$120 "for the benefit of the Society." This was followed, in August, 1801, by a gift from Governor Sullivan of the copyright of his "History of Land Titles in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts." But it does not appear that this gift proved to be of any pecuniary advantage to the Society. In December of the same year the Rev. Thomas Hall, a Corresponding Member, and six other gentlemen, who were then in Leghorn, subscribed \$42, which was expended in the purchase of books for the Library.² In August, 1806, the Rev. James Freeman "communicated to the Society that he has in his hands the sum of \$200, which is a donation to the Society upon condition that the same should be appropriated exclusively to the printing of the tenth volume of the Society's Collections, or to the binding of any books or pamphlets belonging to the Society." As the Society was then indebted to Dr. Freeman for a somewhat larger sum, this was no doubt a gift from him. About the same time twenty-seven gentlemen, whose names are in a note to the Proceedings,³ subscribed \$313.40 for the purchase of two portraits of General Benjamin Lincoln, one of which now hangs on the stairway, and the other was presented to his family. In 1813 Samuel Eliot, founder of the Greek Professorship in Harvard College, and Elias Boudinot, a Corresponding Member, each gave to the Society the sum of \$50. In April, 1832, a legacy of \$300 was received under the will of Isaiah Thomas, founder of the

¹ Proceedings, vol. i. p. 162.

² *Ibid.* p. 152, note.

³ *Ibid.* p. 192.

American Antiquarian Society, and a member of our own Society for twenty years. In January, 1834, the Society received \$146.16, the net proceeds of a course of lectures delivered at the Athenæum.¹ In 1835-36 a course of fourteen lectures by ten members of the Society was given,² and the sum of \$556 was paid into the treasury, as a part of the proceeds. In 1836-37 a third course was given,³ from which the Society received \$200. In January, 1838, the Treasurer received \$269 as "part proceeds of lectures;" but the records contain no further information respecting this course of lectures. In 1842-43 another course was delivered, the net proceeds of which amounted to \$643.65. No part of this sum is entered on the Treasurer's books; but it would appear from the Proceedings⁴ that the money was used by the Committee for defraying the cost of printing the Collections. In November, 1843, the Treasurer received \$25.96, which was apparently the balance of the lecture-money at that time remaining in the hands of the Committee. In 1845 fourteen members, whose names are in a note to the Proceedings,⁵ subscribed \$95 to purchase a portrait of Governor Gore, by Trumbull. In the following year a subscription amounting to \$2,100 was raised, mainly from the members, for reprinting the Collections. In December, 1849, a bequest of \$100 was received under the will of the late Professor Dean, of Vermont, who was chosen a Corresponding Member in 1831. Between 1855 and 1860 a subscription, amounting to \$3,030, was raised for the purpose of preparing a catalogue of the Library. In January, 1859, the Treasurer received \$700 as the net proceeds of Mr. Everett's eulogy on Thomas Dowse; and extending through several years considerable sums were received from the copyright on Mr. Quincy's "Life of John Quincy Adams," which was presented to the Society in June, 1858. In 1863 our devoted associate Charles Deane gave \$50 for the purchase of reference books to be placed in the Library. In 1868 a subscription of \$261 from fifteen members, for a memorial of the late George Peabody, was received; and as only a part of this sum (\$101) was needed for the purpose, the remainder was used for the general expenses of the Society. About the

¹ Proceedings, vol. i. p. 478, note.

² *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 33, 34.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 79, 80.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 246.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 312.

same time forty-five members contributed \$1,150 for the purchase of the Sewall Diary and Letter Books. In 1869 twelve members delivered thirteen lectures in one of the courses of the Lowell Institute; and the whole sum received for them (\$1,300) was paid into the treasury. The additional cost of publishing the volume in which these lectures were afterward printed (\$703.41) was paid by our valued associate, the late John Amory Lowell. In 1874 twenty-nine members, whose names are in the Proceedings,¹ agreed to pay for three years subscriptions instead of the annual assessments; and from this source the sum of \$2,880 was received over and above the amount of their assessments. In 1882 our associate Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., paid the entire cost (about \$1,200) of publishing the eighth volume of the Fifth Series of the Collections. At our last meeting the gift of \$1,000 from Charles Deane and George C. Lord, executors of the will of the late Robert Waterston, was announced, which sum is to be used toward the cost of cataloguing our priceless collection of manuscripts.

It is not now possible to say exactly how much the Society has received from these various sources. But it may be safely estimated that, excluding all sums held as permanent funds, and all sums invested in the real estate, there have been given to the Society by members or other persons interested in the objects of the Society, upward of eighteen thousand dollars, all of which has been expended in carrying on its work. In spite, however, of these generous gifts, the Society has always been crippled by the want of adequate means; and it is certain that it will be still more crippled whenever a reinvestment of any of its permanent funds becomes necessary. The income of the fund for the purchase of books, and the income of the fund for binding, are both insufficient to keep the Library up to its proper standard; and the larger part of the principal of the first must be reinvested as soon as practicable. This cannot be done without a considerable reduction from the present income of the fund, which is nearly seven per cent on the amount of the fund as it now stands on the books.

Besides the extinction of the mortgage debt, a beginning has been made, during the year, in the reinvestment of the funds which are an incumbrance on the real estate; and for this purpose twenty-five shares in the State National Bank,

¹ Proceedings, vol. xv. p. 274.

Boston, have been bought at a cost of \$3,007.25. The income from all stocks or bonds bought for reinvestments will be apportioned to the several funds according to the sum at which such funds stand on the Treasurer's books. The gain which may arise from the sale or exchange of securities now specially held for any fund will be added to the principal of that fund; but it is not the intention of the Treasurer to assign new securities to any special fund. They will be held for the proportionate benefit of all the funds not otherwise invested.

CHARLES C. SMITH, *Treasurer*.

Boston, March 31, 1887.

Report of the Auditing Committee.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as made up to March 31, 1887, have attended to their duty, and report that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched; that the securities held by the Treasurer for the several funds correspond with the statement in his Annual Report; that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for; and that the Trial Balance is accurately taken from the Ledger.

MARTIN BRIMMER, } *Committee.*
URIEL H. CROCKER, }

Boston, April 6, 1887.

Mr. LAWRENCE, from the Committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, reported the following; and they were duly elected:—

President.

REV. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., LL.D. BOSTON.

Vice-Presidents.

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D. CAMBRIDGE.
FRANCIS PARKMAN, LL.D. BOSTON.

Recording Secretary.

REV. EDWARD J. YOUNG, A.M. CAMBRIDGE.

Corresponding Secretary.

JUSTIN WINSOR, A.B. CAMBRIDGE.

Treasurer.

CHARLES C. SMITH, Esq. BOSTON.

Librarian.

HON. SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D. BOSTON.

Cabinet-keeper.

FITCH EDWARD OLIVER, M.D. BOSTON.

Executive Committee of the Council.

HON. MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN, LL.D. BOSTON.

WILLIAM EVERETT, Ph.D. QUINCY.

ROBERT C. WINTHROP, JR., A.M. BOSTON.

HON. JOHN LOWELL, LL.D. NEWTON.

HON. JOHN D. WASHBURN, LL.B. WORCESTER.

On motion of Dr. PAIGE, the thanks of the Society were voted to the retiring members of the Council.

A new serial, containing the Proceedings from January to March inclusive, was announced by the Recording Secretary.

The members of the Society were then invited by the President to a luncheon at his house in the afternoon, where a pleasant social hour was spent.

MEMOIR
OF THE
REV. NICHOLAS HOPPIN, D.D.
BY FITCH EDWARD OLIVER.

THOSE who are familiar with the old landmarks of Cambridge will recall the modest and pleasing structure known as Christ Church, that has stood for more than a century, a monument of the religious zeal and taste of the later days of the Province. There is a chaste and simple beauty in the style and proportions of this quaint edifice that attracts the eye of even the casual observer; nor is it without a certain dignity, imparted to it perhaps by the remembrance of the years that have passed over it, and the scenes it witnessed during the first years of the Revolutionary struggle. Of those who have been from time to time associated with this venerable church, no name on the roll of its clergy, if we except its first two rectors, is so conspicuous as that of Nicholas Hoppin, whose long and devoted ministry secured for it a rank and influence it had not known since the troublous days of the Revolution. In offering the following brief and imperfect sketch of our late associate, the writer only regrets that his memoir had not been intrusted to some one more conversant with his varied attainments and the incidents of his daily life, and who could have paid a more just and fitting tribute to his memory.

Nicholas Hoppin was born in Providence, Rhode Island, on the 3d of December, 1812. He was the son of Richard and Abby (Spears) Hoppin, and grandson of Nicholas Hoppin, of Charlestown, Massachusetts, who was born in 1751, and Hannah, a daughter of Joseph Lewis, who died in Providence in 1828. His great-grandfather was Nicholas Hoppin, also of

Charlestown, who was born in 1725, and whose wife was Susannah, the daughter of Captain John Hancock, of Cambridge, and a second cousin of the Governor of that name. The earliest ancestor of whom we have knowledge was William Hoppin, the father of the last-named Nicholas, who is known to have been a resident of Charlestown before 1716, and who married Abigail, a daughter of Isaac Johnson, of Boston, who was born in 1693. It was not until after the breaking out of the Revolutionary War that the family removed to Providence, as Dr. Hoppin himself tells us that his grandfather, with other inhabitants of Charlestown, was engaged in privateering soon after the burning of that town during the battle of Bunker Hill.¹

From the little that can be learned of the early life of Dr. Hoppin, he appears to have manifested in his boyhood those mental and moral traits that were so conspicuous in his maturer years. He is said to have been fond of study, of a more than average capacity, and of a remarkably sweet and gentle temper. One who knew him well and was his constant companion, says of him: "I distinctly remember his constant flow of good nature in our juvenile sports; he was my junior in years, and yet I was always willing to be influenced by his wishes." Of his school days we have no record; but from his love of books, his diligence while in college, and his honesty of purpose, it may well be supposed that as a schoolboy he was studious, and faithful in the performance of every duty required of him. One of his teachers was Oliver Angell, the noted principal of the public school on Constitution Hill, who was afterward succeeded by the Rev. George Taft, an Episcopal clergyman subsequently settled over St. Mark's, Pawtucket. It may have been the influence of the latter, or perhaps that of Dr. Crocker, the rector of St. John's, of which his parents were members, that shaped his future course. On leaving school, having been intended for a business life, he was placed in a mercantile house in Providence; but after a year's experience in an occupation for which he seems to have shown little aptitude, his employer informed his father that Nicholas loved his books better than trade; and at his suggestion he was allowed to abandon the shop, and he soon after began his preparatory studies for college.

¹ Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. xiv. p. 90.

He entered Brown University in 1827, at the age of fifteen, and was graduated with distinguished honor in 1831, in a class of unusual ability, comprising the names of Prof. William Gammell, the late Dr. David King, of Newport, the Rev. Dr. Waterman, the Hon. Francis W. Bird, and the Hon. Walter S. Burges.

On leaving college, he taught school for a time in Marlborough, and afterwards for a year or more in Lowell, where we find, not least conspicuous among his pupils, the name of Benjamin F. Butler, at one time Governor of Massachusetts. It was while in Lowell that Mr. Hoppin, under the guidance and direction of the late Dr. Edson, determined upon studying for Holy Orders; and he accordingly entered the General Theological Seminary, where he completed his studies in 1837. He was soon after ordained to the diaconate by Bishop Onderdonk, of New York, and in the following summer became assistant to the Rev. John A. Clark, at St. Andrew's, Philadelphia. In the winter of the same year he took charge of St. John's, Bangor, where he is said to have been the first missionary. Having remained there for one year, he returned to St. Andrew's, and was ordained to the priesthood at St. Peter's, Philadelphia, by Bishop Onderdonk, of Pennsylvania, in 1839. He was very soon after invited to take temporary charge of Christ Church, Cambridge, and in the same year was chosen its rector. Here he remained until near the close of his life, resigning its charge, much to the regret of his many friends, in 1874. He still continued to officiate in neighboring parishes from time to time until 1882, when declining health obliged him to rest from all ministerial work. Four years later, on the 8th of March, 1886, under the shadow of the old church at whose altar he had served so long, he died at the ripe age of seventy-three.

It appears from this brief sketch that the greater part of Dr. Hoppin's professional life was passed in Cambridge. In the quiet parish of Christ Church, around which cluster so many memories, he labored almost without ceasing for more than thirty years, faithfully performing the duties of a parish priest, and doing what he could to restore the parish to an independent position among the churches of the diocese. To one of his tastes this ancient church had a peculiar interest from its historical associations, and the trials and troubles it had en-

countered in its earlier days. Regarded almost from its inception, in 1759, with suspicion and alarm, on theological as well as political grounds, it had soon aroused all the bitterness of sectarian animosity. Even its rector, we are told, was called upon to sustain "as rude a storm as ever beat upon a person in his station," and this from those, perhaps, by whom liberty of conscience had been cherished as a pleasant, although delusive, dream; and this feeling of opposition was strengthened by the breaking out of the War of the Revolution. With this accession to the opposing forces, the church was unable to contend, and its congregation was soon broken up and dispersed. So complete was the rout, that but two names, it appears, "of all those who took part in its concerns," including the sixty-eight original subscribers, and the twenty original purchasers of pews, were to be found on the records; and the church edifice, used as barracks at one time by the soldiers quartered at Cambridge, long bore the marks of defacement in its broken windows and shattered furniture.

Although several attempts were made from time to time, after the termination of the war, to restore its services, little was accomplished; and so late as 1820, the parish was unable to support an ordained minister. In 1824 the importance of providing church worship for the large number of Episcopal students then in the University led to an organized effort on the part of the diocese to place the church once more on a permanent footing. From that time more regular services were held under its own rectors; but there seems to have been no important accessions to the number of its worshippers until the election of Mr. Hoppin, after which it began rapidly to increase, and in less than twenty years had multiplied nearly tenfold, the income of the parish having also increased in an almost corresponding proportion.

This sudden revival of a long dormant parish must be largely ascribed to the ability and faithful pastoral care of the new incumbent. No one could have been selected more fitted for the position to which he had been called. The church had become enfeebled by long inaction, and the prevailing sentiment, fostered more or less by the University, could hardly have been called friendly to the doctrines of the Prayer Book; and it required the uncompromising loyalty to the church, no less than the fidelity and learning of the incoming rector, to

guide the parish safely through the dangers and difficulties that beset it both from without and within. But the success of his administration was not due alone to the faithful discharge of his ordinary parochial duties. There was a sweetness in his nature, and a gentleness and courtesy in his demeanor, and, more than all, a deep sense of the responsibility attached to his sacred calling, that gave a dignity to his every act, and won the respect and love of the humblest within his cure. "The remembrance of his constant readiness to minister to all needs," says a writer in the "Church Eclectic,"¹ "and the tender sympathy and interest with which his services were given, will long be cherished, not least by the poorer members of his flock, who, after he had ceased to hold any definite cure, would frequently turn to him in times of distress and sorrow."

In his pulpit efforts there was little or no display. His manner was quiet, perhaps too quiet to please the popular fancy; but the chasteness of his language, and the kindly spirit that breathed through his sermons, gave them to the attentive listener a peculiar charm and attractiveness. He sought to impress upon his hearers the great truths of Christianity as they have come down through the appointed channels of the apostolic Church, and those who had the good fortune to listen to his teachings will remember the earnestness and reverence that marked all his public ministrations. No words so fitly express the devout and humble spirit with which he approached every ministerial act, as his own, uttered towards the close of a sermon delivered on the twenty-first anniversary of his settlement over the parish: "In conclusion, my brethren, you will bear me witness that though I came not to you with excellency of speech, declaring unto you the testimony of God; though I have been with you in weakness and fear, with a deep and constant sense of accountability as your minister; though my preaching has not been with enticing words, — I have yet determined not to know anything among you but Jesus Christ, and Him crucified."

As a churchman, his views were clear and decided, and in his earlier days he was led to take part in the theological controversies that agitated the diocese; but, as has been truly said, "none but kindly words were ever heard spoken by him of

¹ Rev. A. C. A. Hall.

former opponents, nor will any but kindly recollections be entertained of one who, while contending earnestly for his principles, as distinctly set truth, not victory, before him as the result of the contention." He was a firm believer in the oneness of the Catholic Body, and in an ecclesiastical succession as essential to organic continuity, regarding a ministry of apostolic descent a fact as unquestionable as any fact in history that rests upon moral demonstration.

Dr. Hoppin was a ripe and rare scholar. As a student and theologian he held a high rank among the doctors of the Church. Of early ecclesiastical history, with which few persons were more conversant, he had made a diligent and exhaustive study, and was often referred to as no mean authority in matters touching the doctrine and practice of the primitive Church. "Of the original languages of Scripture," says his friend already quoted, "he was as familiar as with his mother tongue, and the writings of the Fathers were a constant delight to him. Even with the less known of the Greek Fathers, such as Saint Chrysostom, Saint Basil, and Saint Gregory, he was as much at home as perhaps most of the clergy with the ordinary text-books of theology."

Together with the intellectual endowments that distinguished our lamented friend, there were other higher traits that were conspicuous in him. He was possessed of a singular modesty and humility, and bore the trials incident to his position with the patience and charity that marked him in every relation in life. With his simplicity of tastes, — and here we again quote the words of another, — "his modesty and unconsciousness concerning his exceptional gifts of scholarship, and the purity of his life and heart, his friends may well associate his love of flowers, which from boyhood to old age was so great." We are told that he rarely returned from his rambles into the country that he did not come laden with the wild-flowers he had gathered by the way; and in his leisure hours, when not in his study or in the neighboring library, and often in the early morning, before the world was astir, he was to be found at hard manual labor in his garden.

Dr. Hoppin was elected a member of this Society in 1864; but it does not appear that he was ever a contributor to its Proceedings, nor did he often take part in the discussions at its meetings; but on the few occasions on which he spoke, his

remarks were listened to with attention. It is to be regretted that the only memorials of his varied studies are a few essays, historical sketches and sermons, and two or three review articles. No fresher reading can be found than his brief sketches of John Cotton and Charles Chauncy, that appeared in the "Church Monthly" in 1862 and 1863, illustrating as they do the state of the English Church immediately preceding the Puritan emigration, and the intolerance and strange inconsistencies to which men are prone during a fanatical period. His views are not perhaps those generally held and taught in New England, but his statements are well fortified and will bear careful criticism.

In his notice of John Cotton, Dr. Hoppin reviews his course at St. Botolph's, and dwells somewhat at length upon his constant and determined efforts, in common with other of his Puritan brethren, to overthrow the whole ceremonial system of the Church, not so much with the idea of setting up a separate church as of "reducing the Church of England itself to their new chosen platform, the denuded churches of the Continent." He comments with not a little severity upon Mr. Cotton's direct violation of the vows and obligations assumed at the time of his ordination, as well as his non-compliance with the subscription made with his own hand, which included a declaration affirming the authority of the Church to decree rites and ceremonies, and the duty of observing them. He alludes to the ineffectual attempts of the judicious and learned Sanderson in quelling the disturbances at St. Botolph's, and remarks upon Mr. Cotton's contumacy in disregarding all episcopal advice and admonition, although given in the spirit of the utmost kindness; and, following him to his new home across the sea, he shows his marvellous inconsistency in his treatment of Roger Williams, and in invoking the civil arm for the coercion of recreant Familists and others who dared to exercise that liberty of conscience which Hubbard says was "the principal intendment of this Plantation."

The following is a portion of one of the closing paragraphs of Dr. Hoppin's brief paper:—

"The account now given of his ministry at St. Botolph's embodies the real and reliable facts of the case, stript of all declamation about persecution for conscience' sake, and banishment from his native country

for a mere ceremonial nonconformity. A man who for near twenty years was indulged in an entire disregard of the public order of worship in the church to which he belonged, which order he had solemnly vowed to observe, who was kindly reasoned with by four successive bishops of his diocese, and who was repeatedly allowed time, at his own request, to consider of his scruples, could hardly complain of being harshly treated, when finally obliged to surrender a charge which he avowed that he neither would nor could conduct according to the terms of his commission. The case is a fair sample of the suspensions and deprivations of the Puritan ministers of those times, and fully bears out the assertion of Bishop Sanderson, made in Mr. Cotton's own pulpit: 'Our church hath not always used the rigor that she might. Where she hath been forced to proceed as far as deprivation, she hath ordinarily, by her fair and slow and compassionate proceedings therein, sufficiently manifested her unwillingness thereto, and declared herself a mother every way indulgent to her children, even to those unwilling to be ruled by her.'

Dr. Hoppin suggests "Teacher of New Boston" as a more appropriate title for Mr. Cotton than that of "Vicar of Old Boston;" and regards the erection of a monument and chapel to his memory at St. Botolph's, where for two years he had been a loving and conforming son of the Church, and for nineteen a restless and dissentient one, as indicating, on both sides of the Atlantic, a substantial respect, notwithstanding the blemishes of his career, for his sincerity and piety, as well as for his learning and unquestioned abilities as a priest and minister, and a mutual forgiving, if not forgetting, the religious feuds and animosities of his time.

No less noteworthy is Dr. Hoppin's sketch of Charles Chauncy, who seems to have been more bitter, if possible, than his brother priest of St. Botolph's, and who did not hesitate "to denounce and scandalize the Church of England, with its ritual, orders, discipline, and government." Although his conscience seems to have been especially sensitive to the dangers of the communion rail, as a godless innovation and a snare to men's souls, he was also much disturbed by the posture of kneeling in public worship, and other ceremonial customs that have generally been supposed to be sanctioned by the earliest Catholic usage; and "surely," as Dr. Hoppin says, in referring to his refusal to read the Book of Sports, as commanded by the King, and to his nonconformity, "if he could not in conscience obey either the King of England or the Church of

England, the time had come when it was no longer proper that he should hold a living in the Established Church, or minister at her altars."

There is something almost pathetic in Dr. Hoppin's closing words:—

"He died in the eighty-second year of his age, and lies interred in the ancient burial-ground of Cambridge. In process of time, a church of the Anglican Communion cast a shadow upon his grave; and, later still, a Unitarian place of worship, which had succeeded to the former Puritan meeting-house, and its predecessor in which he preached, took his monument under its wing. Not far off the costly and pleasing University Chapel uprears the symbol of the cross which he abhorred; and, still more singular to relate, is arranged with a communion table, placed altar-fashion and enclosed, or, as he would have expressed it, 'dresserwise and impounded within a rail.' In spite of his hasty temper and impatience of opposition, he was on the whole a man of some substantial qualities, and undoubtedly exerted much influence in moulding the original religious character of New England. One of his successors in the presidency, Dr. Increase Mather, calls him *Carolus Magnus*, implying, with a slight touch of exaggeration, that he was a kind of Puritan Charlemagne. For his learning and important position at the head of the infant University of the country, he deserves perhaps the title which Cotton Mather pedantically gives him, *Cadmus Americanus*; though it is to be feared that in some respects the dragon's teeth which he sowed have come up armed men, and proved the seed of a polemic race."

Among the published pamphlets are four sermons, largely of an historical character, preached by Dr. Hoppin in Christ Church. The first was delivered in 1854, on the occasion of the completion of the fifteenth year of his rectorate. Another bearing the date 1857 was on the re-opening of the church after its enlargement, to which is appended an historical notice of Christ Church, from its foundation in 1759 to the present time. That preached in 1860 was on the twenty-first anniversary of his settlement over the parish, and contains many curious statistics of the Church in Cambridge and in other towns throughout the diocese.

The discourse delivered on the 15th of October, 1861, was on the occasion of the one hundredth anniversary of the parish, the first sermon having been preached just one hundred years before by the Rev. East Apthorp; "a fitting commemora-

tion," says Dr. Hoppin, "of a church which after a century of change, and after revolution and convulsion, and mutations of civil affairs, still remains a witness of the unchangeable realities of religion, and the essential uniformity and steadfastness of Christian principles and hopes."

The other pamphlets are : —

An essay delivered before the Associate Alumni of the General Theological Seminary in New York, in 1862, on "Organic Continuity the true Law of Ecclesiastical Succession."

A sermon delivered in 1875, before the "Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament."

An essay on the "Eucharistic Teaching of Saint Augustine," delivered in 1880.

A paper on the "Eucharistic Ritual of the Holy and Great Fifth, or Maunday Thursday."

The two latter papers received commendation from Canon William Bright, the Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford, who, in referring to the latter, writes as follows: "Your paper seems to be eminently instructive, and likely to do much good. I sincerely wish it a wide circulation. I hope I have learned several things from it as to the progressive changes in the mode of honoring the *Cæna Domini*."

In allusion to the preceding essay, he adds: "I shall value the paper as a real repository of information on the 'Eucharistic Teaching of Saint Augustine;' it has helped me very materially to the right point of view as to some well-known passages."

There are one or two other brief articles from his pen in the "Church Monthly," to which there is not space to more than allude.

Dr. Hoppin was a member of the American Oriental Society, and in 1859 received the doctorate of Sacred Theology from Trinity College.

In 1838, the year before his removal to Cambridge, he was married to Miss Elizabeth, a daughter of the late Hon. Samuel Dunn Parker, and granddaughter of the Right Rev. Samuel Parker, second Bishop of Massachusetts, who, with a son and daughter, survives him.

MEMOIR

OF

LUCIUS MANLIUS SARGENT, A.M.

BY EDWARD J. LOWELL.

WILLIAM SARGENT, the great-grandfather of the subject of this notice, was born in England,¹ being the son of William Sargent and Mary, his wife, whose maiden name was Epes. He was educated at Barbadoes, and moved to Gloucester in Massachusetts about the year 1678, where he acquired two acres of land on Eastern Point and built him a house.

William Sargent married, on the 21st of June, 1678, Mary, daughter of Peter Duncan, by whom he had thirteen children.² Of these the sixth was Epes Sargent, whose first wife's maiden name was Esther Macarty. Her seventh child was Daniel, born on the 18th of March, 1731, who married, on the 3d of February, 1763, Mary, daughter of the Hon. John Turner, of Salem.

Daniel Sargent moved to Boston between 1770 and 1780, and occupied a store on Long Wharf, and a house in Atkinson Street (now Congress Street), near the corner of Cow Lane (now High Street). There is nothing now left in Boston to recall the old wooden houses such as this, with their gables toward the street, and their gardens where old-fashioned flowers filled the beds and where pear-trees shaded the rather ragged grass of the days when lawn-mowers were not invented. At the end of the garden was the summer-house, decorated in this case with a landscape by the hand of one of the children of the family, who had gone to England to study under Sir Benjamin West. But it must have been before this work of

¹ Savage says, at Bristol; J. H. Sheppard, in N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg., 1871, says, at Exeter.

² So says Savage, who enumerates them. Sheppard says, fourteen.

art was begun that, on the 25th of June, 1786, the subject of this notice, Lucius Manlius Sargent, was born. Here he lived until 1794, when the house was burnt down, and his father moved first to Fort Hill, and afterwards to the corner of Essex and Lincoln Streets.

Mr. Daniel Sargent must have been a rich man; for when he died in 1806, he left each of his six surviving children with at least a competency. He had been interested in the fisheries, and had had many dealings with the fishermen of the coast. After his death a package was found among his effects, with the following inscription: "Notes, due bills, and accounts against sundry persons along shore. Some of them may be got by suit or severe dunning: but the people are poor; most of them have had fisherman's luck. My children will do as they think best. Perhaps they will think with me, that it is best to burn the package entire." It is to the credit of Mr. Sargent's sons that they adopted his suggestion, and that all the contents of the package went into the fire. A list was first made of the evidences of debt thus destroyed, the amount exceeding thirty-two thousand dollars. The story of the occurrence and of the joy of one of the forgiven debtors is touchingly but anonymously told in the fifty-fifth number of "Dealings with the Dead."

Lucius Manlius Sargent went to several schools in Boston and its neighborhood, ending with the Phillips Academy at Exeter, where he remained about three years. He then entered Harvard College in the class that graduated in 1808. He left college, however, before finishing his course. He is described by a classmate as being at this time tall, handsomely proportioned, and very muscular, and as having a fine Roman cast of countenance. He was a good horseman, whether in the saddle or with the reins, a strong swimmer, and a good fencer with the broadsword. He was considered the best Latin scholar in college, and his witty sayings were quoted in his class.

After leaving college Mr. Sargent studied law in the office of Mr. Samuel Dexter. He was admitted to the bar on the 14th of March, 1815, but he never practised.

Mr. Sargent married, on the 3d of April, 1816, Mary, daughter of Mr. Barnabas Binney, of Philadelphia. By her he had three children, — Mary Turner, who died unmarried in 1841;

Horace Binney, afterwards Colonel Sargent, who is still living; and Manlius, who died in infancy. Mrs. Sargent died in 1824, and in 1825 Mr. Sargent married Sarah Cutter Dunn, daughter of Mr. Samuel Dunn, of Boston. Her only child was Lucius Manlius Sargent, who served his country in the late Civil War, first as a surgeon, and then as a captain of cavalry, and who was mortally wounded at Weldon on the 9th of December, 1864.

Mr. Sargent was elected a member of the New England Historic, Genealogical Society in 1850, and a Resident Member of this Society in 1856. He died on the 2d of June, 1867, in the eighty-first year of his age. His widow, one son, and seven grandchildren survived him.

Mr. Sargent's numerous writings first appeared in newspapers and magazines, but several of them have been collected and published in more permanent forms. A volume of verse from his pen appeared in 1813, under the title of "Hubert and Ellen, with other Poems." The style is flowing, the versification good; and what is more rare, the poems are eminently readable.

About twenty years after the publication of these poems Mr. Sargent became deeply interested in the temperance reform. He delivered numerous addresses on the subject, several of which have been published. About temperance in drinking few persons deeply interested can speak temperately. The evils of drunkenness are so great that a warm-hearted or excitable man who observes them loses his head, and is almost necessarily drawn into exaggeration. Mr. Sargent did not wholly escape this danger; but his addresses were pointed, clear, and eloquent. He wrote, moreover, a series of temperance tales, which passed through several editions, and which were so well thought of that a hundred thousand copies of one of them was printed for distribution by a gentleman of New York.

But the papers which are most interesting to this Society, and to which Mr. Sargent probably owed his election here, form a series which appeared in the "Transcript" from 1847 or 1848 to 1856, and which was published in the latter year in two volumes, with the title "Dealings with the Dead by a Sexton of the Old School." The book is made up of a hundred and sixty articles, or essays, full of archæology, criticism,

and anecdote. The author was unfortunate in the character which he assumed, and we read altogether too much in his pages of tombs, graves, cremation, and undertakers. But with all this there is much that is interesting, much that is instructive. In spite of the lugubrious title, the style of the work is sufficiently lively. As is natural with a book made up of articles from a newspaper, it is better to dip into the "Dealings" than to undertake to read them consecutively.

Mr. Sargent made few contributions to the Proceedings of this Society. Our Cabinet received from him a portrait of Governor Thomas Pownall, painted by Henry C. Pratt, from a mezzotint engraving.¹

¹ Proceedings, vol. v. p. 236.

MAY MEETING, 1887.

THE stated meeting was held on the 12th instant at three P. M., the chair being occupied by Dr. ELLIS.

The record of the previous meeting was read by the Recording Secretary.

The additions by gift to the Library were reported by the Librarian.

Ernst Curtius, of Berlin, was chosen an Honorary Member of the Society; and John A. Doyle, Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, was elected a Corresponding Member.

The PRESIDENT then said:—

There has been put into my hands since I came into this hall the following Resolve, which has passed both branches of the Legislature, and now awaits the action of the Governor. I have been asked to bring it to the notice of the Society.

Resolve providing for the Erection of a Memorial to Crispus Attucks, Samuel Gray, Jonas Caldwell, Samuel Maverick, and Patrick Carr.

Resolved, That the Governor and Council be, and they are hereby, authorized and requested to cause to be erected in some public place in the city of Boston a suitable memorial or monument to the memory of Crispus Attucks, Samuel Gray, Jonas Caldwell, Samuel Maverick, and Patrick Carr, who were killed by British soldiers in the streets of Boston, on the fifth day of March, in the year seventeen hundred and seventy, upon the occasion known as the "Boston Massacre;" also to cause suitable headstones to be placed at the graves of the said persons, where their locations can be ascertained, the amount to be expended under this resolve not to exceed ten thousand dollars.

The words "so-called," so generally used in connection with the lamentable incident which occurred in State Street, March 5, 1770, designating a "Massacre," are generally understood, when attached to a person or an event, as carrying with them the suggestion of *mis-called*, as supposititious, or apologetic. So that incident, when popularly spoken of as a

"so-called massacre," leaves us to infer that the word is not used with strict propriety. The incident, as an event in our history, is appropriately, if not adequately, commemorated by a bronze tablet on a building near the spot, and by a radiated pavement upon it where the victims fell. The Commonwealth has never as yet raised any monumental memorial of a person or of an event in its history. The Resolve proposes that the State Treasury should now, for the first time, pay its highest monumental honors to commemorate those victims. We may well pause upon that proposition. Who were those victims, and what made them victims?

The oppressive measures of the British Government at our Revolutionary period had engaged opposition here in two forms, — the one of peaceful, earnest, patriotic protest and resistance by our wise and resolute popular leaders; the other of riots and mobs, resulting in the destruction of private property and in personal insults to officials. To overawe the latter, foreign soldiers had been stationed in the town, provoking by their presence and behavior the just indignation of the inhabitants. These hated agents of arbitrary measures of government, instead of securing good order and helping to suppress riots, were the exciting cause of new riots. In one of these a squad of the military, acting under the commands of their officers, were exasperated by the threats, gibes, insults, and missiles of a mob of these rioters, and discharged their guns into it in self-defence. Those who fell in this hap-hazard conflict came to be described as the victims of a "massacre." The soldiers were indicted for murder. Notwithstanding the hot passions of the time, and the intensity of the indignation against them, they were defended in the judicial proceedings against them by two of the foremost patriots, and acquitted by a Massachusetts jury. The occasion was commemorated for several successive years by an oration condemning the presence and denouncing the wrong of a standing army in civil affairs in a time of peace.

Mr. WASHBURN remarked that, assuming the voice of scholars to be unanimous in the declaration that these men were not acting in the character of patriots, but of rioters, and "died as the fool dieth," he would call attention more particularly to the parliamentary attitude of this question.

He said that he had no doubt that a thorough scholar in Massachusetts history, who could have commanded the ear of the House of Representatives, would in a single speech have convinced them of the impropriety of passing this Resolve; and he referred to a former experience of his own in the case of Roger Williams. He was of the opinion, however, that, the Resolve having passed both branches of the Legislature, it would be very difficult to get a vote for its recall from the Governor. He also believed that a resolution of this kind, without the appointment of a committee to wait on the Governor, would serve only to put this Society right; but that if a committee, of whom the President of this Society should be the head, should carry with them such a resolution, they might prevail on the Executive to interpose his veto, provided that he, as a politician, was not more likely to be influenced by the negroes and the cheaper politicians than by the educated men. The only thing to be done was to pass the resolution and appoint the committee. The Society then would have performed its duty; but at this stage, and with the pressure which would probably be exerted by the promoters of the Resolve, the result must be very doubtful.

Mr. HILL suggested that either house could ask that the bill might be returned.

Dr. PAIGE said he thought there was another side of the question. As nearly as he could recollect the published accounts, the people of Boston, instead of denouncing the slaughtered men as a riotous mob, unworthy of common sympathy, represented them as perhaps misguided patriots, who had lost their lives in the cause of liberty; and the whole town rendered such funeral honors as had seldom been witnessed. Moreover, some of the foremost citizens were selected, from year to year, to keep the memory of that event green by public orations. It was long since he read those orations; but he could not recall a single disparaging remark concerning the victims. In his opinion the erection of a monument to their memory would indicate no greater disrespect to Quincy and John Adams, who professionally defended the British soldiers, than a refusal would indicate towards Warren and Samuel Adams, whose patriotism is not doubted, and who quite as earnestly and emphatically justified resistance to military oppression. He supposed that before the Declaration of

Independence all forcible opposition to British authority was technically rebellious and treasonable. It is somewhat difficult to draw the line between the promiscuous pelting of the soldiers with ice and clubs in State Street, and the unorganized skirmish in Lexington and Cambridge, five years later, or the more orderly but illegally organized struggle on Bunker Hill, where Warren himself lost his life. While we canonize the martyrs who perished in those later contests, and erect magnificent monuments in honor of them, it seems scarcely consistent to refuse recognition to the humble men whose death was followed by such important results. Having this view of the case, he could not vote in favor of the resolution under consideration; yet, as there seemed to be a desire that the action should be unanimous, he would not vote against it, notwithstanding he so strongly doubted its propriety and expediency.

Dr. PEABODY expressed his surprise that the affair of the 5th of March should ever have been regarded as other than a riot for which there was no justifiable motive, in which the so-called victims were the aggressors, and were killed by the soldiers in self-defence. He said that in the orations delivered annually in commemoration of that event, no claim of patriotic purpose was made for the men who were slain, the whole *gravamen* of the vehement rhetoric bearing upon the fact that these were British soldiers quartered in Boston in what was claimed to be a time of peace. The orators in every instance forgot to say that it was the previous ascendancy of mob-law in Boston that led to the quartering of soldiers in the town.

Mr. GOODELL declared his agreement with the President. He said if the purpose of the monument were simply to indicate the place of burial, he should make no objection to it; but a monument to perpetuate the fame of rioters was preposterous. The proposal of such a thing could only spring from a misconception of the true ground for making the event memorable; and he concurred with what Dr. Peabody had said as to the position taken by the Boston orators, and all the most respected of contemporary patriots, — that the withdrawal of the troops, in consequence of the bloodshed of March 5, 1770, and not the conduct or character of the rioters, was what they intended to celebrate. He thought the resolve might be recalled, and a further hearing granted, and thus the

State saved from a worse than wasteful outlay. He gave an account of his interview with the Governor, and the chairmen of the respective branches of the Legislature, of the Joint Standing Committee on Expenditures, which reported the resolve, and said that he should endeavor to secure a further hearing on the expediency of the resolve, and hoped the Society would be represented on that occasion.¹

Dr. DEANE said that the attack on the soldiers was conducted by a mere mob, inspired by no elevated sentiments, and fatally bent on mischief. A few of their number, fortunately for their fame, were killed, and for that reason they became martyrs. If they had not been killed, even the names of those few would never have been preserved to the present day. Thus the martyr's crown is placed upon the brow of the vulgar ruffian. The soldiers acted in self-defence. Judge Trowbridge's charge to the jury is the most impartial history of the affair we can read. The jury did their duty nobly under the most trying circumstances, and substantially acquitted the soldiers who were indicted for murder.

Mr. WASHBURN moved that a committee be appointed, of which the President should be the chairman, to present to the authorities at the State House the views of this Society in such manner as they may deem best.

The PRESIDENT asked to be excused from serving on the Committee. He said that he had been informed of some of the influences under which the legislative measure had been carried, and that his views on the subject would be fully met by the motion suggested. "When, at some future time," he continued, "as will surely be the case, the motives and influences which affect our legislative action, wholly independent of the merits of the objects acted upon, shall be exposed to critical questioning, this lavish use of the public money for the purpose proposed may be challenged. Then it may be a satisfaction to some to be reminded by our records that we expressed in temperate and fitting terms our regret at this action of our Legislature."

Dr. EVERETT then offered the following Resolution, which was adopted:—

¹ Mr. Goodell published in the "Boston Daily Advertiser" of June 3, 1887, an elaborate article on "The Boston Massacre," which was afterwards separately printed. — Eds.

Resolved, That the members of the Massachusetts Historical Society have heard with regret the action of the General Court in passing a resolution for a monument to Crispus Attucks, Samuel Gray, Jonas Caldwell, Samuel Maverick, and Patrick Carr, who were killed in Boston on the 5th of March, 1770. While greatly applauding the sentiment which erects memorials to the heroes and martyrs of our annals, the members of the Society believe that nothing but a misapprehension of the event styled the "Boston Massacre" can have led to classifying these persons with those entitled to grateful recognition at the public expense.

A Committee, consisting of Dr. Peabody, Messrs. Goodell, Washburn, E. J. Lowell, and McCleary, was then appointed to present the foregoing Resolve to the Governor.

Mr. WINSOR read a letter from Professor Joy, now in Munich, respecting the history of a very large number of papers of Timothy Pickering, amassed while he was Quartermaster-General in the Revolution, and containing many letters of Washington, Hamilton, and other distinguished persons, which were purchased by the Government and taken to Washington in 1873, where they are preserved apart from what has been supposed to be the complete collection of Pickering papers, now in the Library of this Society.

The following Committees were then appointed for the ensuing year:—

On publishing the Proceedings, Edward J. Young, Clement Hugh Hill, and Alexander McKenzie.

On the Library, Samuel A. Green, Mellen Chamberlain, and John D. Washburn.

On the Cabinet, Fitch Edward Oliver, Edward J. Young, and Robert C. Winthrop, Jr.

On Finance, Charles Deane, John Lowell, and William Everett.

To approve Bills, Charles Deane.

JUNE MEETING, 1887.

THE Society held its regular monthly session on the 9th instant, the Rev. Dr. ELLIS being in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read his account of the doings of the last meeting, and it was approved.

Among the donations reported by the Librarian were two volumes by Thomas Hooker, pastor in Hartford, Connecticut, which were published in London in 1651 and 1656, and were sent to the Society from Rome, Italy, by Mr. James C. Hooker, to whom a special vote of thanks was passed.

The PRESIDENT remarked that he had been invited officially to be present at a meeting of the Maine Historical Society, which was about to celebrate in Portland the eighty-fifth birthday of its President, the Hon. James W. Bradbury. He read a letter from the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, who paid a tribute to Mr. Bradbury, with whom he had formerly been associated as a member of Congress. Dr. Ellis said that he should be unable to attend the celebration, and it was voted that Dr. Deane, the senior Vice-President, carry the congratulations of this Society, and express its interest in the earnest work which the Maine Society has been doing during the last few years.

The PRESIDENT communicated a paper in defence of John Brown by Dr. Henry I. Bowditch, of this city, who enclosed for inspection an autograph letter written by Brown to his wife and children twenty-four days before his execution in Virginia, which was read by the Recording Secretary. There was also sent for examination one of John Brown's pikes taken at Harper's Ferry, and a bowie-knife captured from the leader of his antagonists in Kansas.

Mr. HIGGINSON presented copies of a dozen letters of Brown to be placed in the archives of this Society, and he said that the explanation of the two opposite opinions which prevail in regard to John Brown was to be found in the fact

that the civilians who were engaged in the struggle for making Kansas a free State had outlived the military men, and hence their theory of the contest has been more generally accepted.

The PRESIDENT laid before the meeting a proposal to form a society for the study of folk-lore, and to establish a journal of a scientific character, designed for the collection of the fast-vanishing remains of old English ballads, tales, superstitions, etc., lore of negroes in the Southern States, myths and tales of Indian tribes, and lore of French Canada and Mexico.

Dr. GREEN made the following remarks : —

In the early part of last month I had the pleasure of meeting a kinswoman of Colonel William Prescott, who is probably the only person now living who ever saw the hero of Bunker Hill, and certainly the only one who ever knew him or ever talked with him ; and her recollections are interesting. I refer to Mrs. Sarah (Chaplin) Rockwood, a resident of Cortland, Cortland County, New York, who was the youngest daughter of the Rev. Daniel Chaplin, D.D., of Groton, the last minister of the town during the period when it formed but a single parish. Her mother was Susanna, eldest daughter of Judge James Prescott, Colonel William's elder brother. Mrs. Rockwood was born at Groton on Nov. 8, 1785, and Colonel Prescott, her great-uncle, died on Oct. 13, 1795, — so that she was ten years old at the time of his death. The date of her birth was duly entered in the town-records, and the entry corresponds with that in her family Bible.

She describes him as a tall, well-proportioned man, with blue eyes and a large head. He usually wore a skull-cap ; and he parted his hair in the middle, wearing it long behind, braided loosely and tied in a *club* with a black ribbon, as was common in those days. He had a pleasant countenance, and was remarkably social and full of fun and anecdote. He was dignified in his manners, and had the bearing of a soldier.

I am satisfied that her recollections of that early period are clear and distinct. She shows in many ways that her memory of events long since past is still good, as it is of more recent ones. Although she has entered upon the second year of her second century, she reads the newspapers, and takes more than an ordinary interest in public affairs.

Mr. C. C. SMITH presented a bill of sale of a negro girl dated at Worcester in 1769, and said this was probably one of the last instruments of the kind executed in Massachusetts. Slavery was then gradually dying out here, and the courts held that after the adoption of the State Constitution in 1780, it no longer had a legal existence in this State. The bill of sale, which was under seal and duly witnessed, contained a full warranty of title. It was, no doubt, in accordance with the form ordinarily used, and was substantially like the bill of sale of Quork Walker, printed by Judge Gray, in one of the early volumes of the Proceedings, in his note on that famous case.

Know all men by These presents that I Andrew Boyd of Worcester in the County of Worcester, yeoman, in Consideration of Forty pounds law¹ money paid me by John Chandler of Petersham in said County Esq^r, which I hereby acknowledge I have this day received of him, Have Bargained Sold conveyed & delivered to the said John Chandler his Executors, Administrators, or assigns, a certain Negro Girl named & called Dinah, about seventeen years old, for the said John to have and hold in Servitude as his Slave & Servant during her natural Life, and hereby Warrant that he may so lawfully hold her, and that I have good right to sell her in manner afores^d Witness my hand & seal this 20th day of February A.D. 1769.

ANDREW BOYD.

Sign'd Seal'd & Delivered
in presence of us
JAMES PUTNAM,
NATH CHANDLER.

Dr. PEABODY, in behalf of the Committee appointed to carry to the State House the resolutions of this Society in regard to the Attucks memorial, reported that, together with a Committee from the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, they made a thorough statement of the case, but that their plea was unsuccessful, the colored people of Boston having used all the influence at their command to secure the building of the monument.

Judge DEVENS announced a memoir of the late Gov. Alexander H. Bullock, which he had been appointed to prepare.

The PRESIDENT gave notice that the meetings of the Society would be suspended until the second Thursday in October, unless a special meeting should be called.

MEMOIR

OF THE

HON. ALEXANDER H. BULLOCK, LL.D.

BY CHARLES DEVENS.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON BULLOCK was born at Royalston, Worcester County, Massachusetts, March 2, 1816, and was the son of Rufus and Sarah (Davis) Bullock. His father was a native and an eminent citizen of that town, who had acquired by manufacturing a substantial fortune, and who had filled many public offices with credit and ability in the county of Worcester. In a commemorative address at Royalston on the Hundredth Anniversary of the Incorporation of the Town, after the mention of several of its eminent citizens, his son, the subject of this memoir, thus appropriately alludes to him :

"And one other who far outlived all these his associates, whom as the exemplar of a long, simple, successful, virtuous life, whom as many times your Representative, twice your Senator, your delegate to the Constitutional Conventions of 1820 and 1852, your honored townsman in his lifetime and benefactor in death, I should proudly describe but that the inheritance of his name forbids."

Mr. Bullock was fitted for college in his native town and at Leicester Academy, entering Amherst College from the latter institution in 1832, and graduating therefrom in 1836 as the second scholar of his class. While there his tastes and inclination caused him to be distinguished rather by his attention to and proficiency in the classics, literature, and rhetoric than the mathematical branches of education. His attachment to the college where he graduated was through life tender and devoted. He was one of its Trustees from 1852 until his death, and for several years chairman of its financial committee and President of the Association of its Alumni. In 1871 he



founded there the Bullock Scholarship of the class of 1836. He was one of the strongest supporters of its claims for recognition from the State by a legislative grant of funds in its favor, and was always gratified that, with his friends and college contemporaries the late Judge Otis P. Lord, of Salem, and Mr. Ensign H. Kellogg, of Pittsfield, then members of the Legislature with him, he had succeeded in bringing the aid of the treasury of the State to that of the college.

After graduating Mr. Bullôck taught school for a year or two and then entered the Law School at Cambridge, which was then under the management of Mr. Greenleaf and Mr. Justice Story. Every one who was a student of that school during those days looks back with affection and regard to these two illustrious professors, who, differing each from the other in many respects, were alike successful in communicating to the students around them something of the enthusiasm with which they regarded their chosen and beloved profession. It was here that in 1840 the writer first made that acquaintance with Mr. Bullock which was to continue through life; and he gave full promise then of the rare eloquence, great ability, and manly and generous qualities which he was afterwards to exhibit. The animated election of 1840 was then progressing, which resulted in the election of General Harrison and the defeat of Mr. Van Buren. It is quite natural that among young men in training for a profession which furnishes so many men for the administration of public affairs, especially under every republican or semi-republican form of government, politics should have a large share in their conversation or in the discussions of their clubs. The Whig party was then in the zenith of its strength and influence. Its great chiefs, Mr. Clay and Mr. Webster, were at the full height of their splendid powers. The incipient rebellion of South Carolina a few years before by the passage of the Nullification Act of 1832 had been crushed by the proclamation of General Jackson, supported as he had been by the principal Whig leaders, although a mode of escape from their rash act had been opened to its authors by a characteristic compromise of Henry Clay. But the overwhelming popularity of General Jackson which had attended him throughout his presidential career had now to some extent expended itself, and had not certainly extended to his successor. The finan-

cial troubles of the country were serious, and were attributed — whether justly so or not we need not here inquire — to the financial policy of the party in power, which had broken down the Bank of the United States and established in its place the Sub-Treasury system. An opportunity to obtain political power, from which it had been long excluded, was afforded, of which the Whig party was not slow to avail itself.

Mr. Bullock was by birth, education, and natural temperament attached to this party. He took great interest in the election of 1840, when he was for the first time a voter, and he followed its fortunes until it ceased as a distinct organization. While his largest political service was rendered to the Republican party, in which the greater portion of its members became merged, it was to the Whig party that he always looked back with the greatest affection, speaking always very gently of its mistakes or the errors of its leaders. Nor was this unnatural. This party represented the broad and generous construction of the Constitution of the United States which was always a cardinal article of his political faith, while the Democratic party, forced by the exigencies of the system of slavery in the States burdened with that institution, where much of its strength lay, contended always for the rights of the individual States as against those of the United States, and sought to confine the latter within the narrowest limits of a strict construction. The leaders of the Whig party also were many of them men of the highest merit; he had looked up to them in youth, and in maturer life we do not so readily yield to the attractions or the influence of others.

It was in the campaign of 1840 (as it was termed) that Mr. Bullock's career as a public speaker began, and from that time forward he was accounted one of the most brilliant and attractive orators of the party to which he belonged. Winning and forcible, with rare physical gifts as a public speaker, he was endowed with that emotional and magnetic temperament which communicates itself to and charms while it persuades an audience.

He commenced the practice of the law in Worcester in 1840, at a time when the bar of that county presented an array of ability not easily paralleled by any then or now in the Commonwealth. Among the men who made it thus conspicuous Mr. Bullock could have readily won a foremost place as time

advanced and his powers matured. His early appearances at the bar were recognized as exhibiting clear promise of powers admirably adapted for the legal profession. Unfortunately for the legal reputation which he might well have acquired, and yet not perhaps for his fortunes, personal comfort, or distinction, he was early drawn from the regular practice of the profession by the business offers made to him on behalf of important insurance companies with which he became connected. It is also true that while Mr. Bullock possessed powers that would have made him an admirable lawyer, he does not appear ever to have been deeply attracted by the study of the law as applied to the affairs of daily life, nor were the controversies of the bar altogether to his taste. These were much more unpleasant and bitter forty or fifty years since than happily they are to-day.

Mr. Bullock was appointed by Governor Davis, who had been elected in 1840, one of his Aids, and was usually known by the military title which this position carries with it.

As Colonel Bullock had great capacity for public affairs, he also took great interest in them, and enjoyed the discussions to which they give rise ; but he had no pleasure nor participation in the bitter personalities they sometimes engender.

He wrote well and easily, and in 1842 became editor of a Whig newspaper, the "National Ægis," with which he was connected for many years. He edited a campaign paper during the canvass for the Presidential elections of 1844 and 1848.

He served in the Massachusetts House of Representatives for Worcester in 1845-1847, and 1848, and in the Senate for the county of Worcester in 1849. He was a candidate for the Speakership in 1847 against Mr. F. B. Crowninshield (both being members of the same party), but was not elected. He was however the recognized leader of the House during 1847 and 1848, being the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, to whom that place is accorded in the Legislature of Massachusetts.

The Court of Insolvency was created by the Statute of 1856. He was appointed Judge of that court for the county of Worcester in the same year, but resigned the office in 1858. In the year 1859 he was elected Mayor of Worcester.

During the time that intervened between 1844 and 1860 the years had been full of great historic events, all traceable

to the feeling which had been aroused on the subject of slavery, and especially upon its extension into the new States as they were created from the great territory which we acquired by the purchase of Louisiana or by the treaty with Mexico, which had followed the annexation of Texas and the war into which we had been hurried. From its nature slavery was aggressive, demanding constantly more room for itself, that it might thus maintain itself against the economical as well as moral obstacles with which it had to contend. With difficulty, on account of the feeling of the large body attached to it in the Southern States, the Whig party had been united in opposition to the annexation of Texas. It had been defeated in the very hour of a reasonably anticipated victory by the wavering and faltering of its great leader, Henry Clay. The war with Mexico had followed, but it had brought into prominence General Taylor, whom the Whig party succeeded in electing to the Presidency. His early death left the determination of the pressing questions which followed to be dealt with as best they might be under the administration of President Fillmore. Unless the natural progress of events was arrested it was obvious that the system of slavery must yield before the steadily advancing power of the Free States. The leaders of the Whig party, certainly those of the North, deemed the preservation of the Union essential to the well-being of all the States and certain to result in the ultimate extinction of slavery, while disunion must result in the erection side by side with us on this continent of an antagonistic nation, from the necessities of its situation jealous, warlike, and exacting. They believed — and the events of ten years later justified the belief — that the strongest leaders of the sentiment of the South were determined to destroy the Union unless they could be fully satisfied with the guaranties which they demanded for the safety of their cherished institution. The system of agitation in favor of slavery was pursued with the intensest eagerness, and Mr. Benton truthfully characterized it as being one “to force issues upon the North under the pretext of self-defence, and to sectionalize the South preparatory to disunion through the instrumentality of sectional conventions composed wholly of delegates from the slaveholding States.”

The measures known as the Compromises of 1850 followed, and Mr. Webster and Mr. Clay went to their graves in the

hope rather than the expectation that the balance between the free and the slave States had been so wisely adjusted that from the question of slavery there was to be no further trouble.

But the advantage gained, great as it was, was not enough, and it became every day clearer that either the Slave or the Free States must rule, and that the conflict was irreconcilable. The Kansas-Nebraska Act passed in 1854, during the administration of President Pierce, threw open to the admission of slavery territory which by the Missouri Compromise of 1820 had been solemnly dedicated to freedom. That compromise had been forced upon the North, and it may well be that had it not been assented to the Union could not have then been preserved. All that the South could attain by it, it had already gained; and now that the North was entitled peaceably to dedicate these Territories to freedom, it was to be deprived of this right under the pretence that this question should be left to the Territories themselves. If no external influences were applied, by the existence of the State of Missouri on its border and the immigration of its people, Kansas would become a slave State.

There was but one way to meet this, and this way was luckily in strictest accordance with the Constitution. It was clearly seen and most energetically pointed out by the Hon. Eli Thayer, of Worcester. His plan was that of a peaceable and organized emigration to Kansas, which should consist of men whose natural influence would be to make of it a free State. The work involved in this plan was undertaken by the Emigrant Aid Company which Mr. Thayer originated. It was supplemented soon by the work of similar societies; and after fierce conflicts with desperate ruffian bands who as invaders were thrust in to establish pretended government, the result was that Kansas was firmly fixed as a free State. In the work of the Emigrant Aid Company and in forwarding this noble movement Colonel Bullock took the profoundest interest. He was one of the incorporators of the original society, was on its important committees, was President of the Worcester County Kansas League, and aided in every way with his influence and his means. It cannot be doubted that he as well as many other conservative men saw with sincere satisfaction that a way had been opened, while respecting

every constitutional obligation, to do something efficient in opposition to the extension of slavery.

The election of 1860 found all the elements of opposition to the aggressive course of the slavery propagandists of the South and to its disunionists united upon the simple ground that there should nowhere be any further extension of slavery. The feeling in favor of the Union was stronger than ever, but it was now realized that it was not to be preserved by constantly shifting compromises, and threats and menaces must be met by a resolute front and stern determination. The Whig party had long since been rent asunder. It appeared indeed at the polls under the respectable leadership of Bell and Everett, but as an insignificant factor. The Democratic party was now hopelessly divided. Extraordinary as the concessions of the Democratic party had been, more had been demanded of it than as a party it could possibly concede and still hope to retain its power in a single Northern State. Its Northern leaders had at last resisted, and with Mr. Douglas and Mr. Breckenridge as opposing candidates the Democratic party entered upon the canvass. It is reasonable to suppose that the Southern leaders intended Mr. Lincoln should be elected. It is characteristic of parties that they wish and strive to do more harm to those most nearly associated with them and who yet to some extent differ from them, than to those to whom they are radically opposed. The election of Mr. Lincoln as President would give a pretext for the already foregone determination to destroy the Union. Before the election of 1860 Mr. Bullock had fully united himself with the Republican party. The party which had had his earliest attachment had long since ceased to be a vital force, although individuals loved to preserve the name, as did at an earlier time some old Federalists long after new party divisions had taken place. He had recognized that as every effort to reconcile the conflict between slavery and freedom had failed, so every future effort would fail. His own choice for the Presidency had been Mr. Seward, but he early appreciated the character of Mr. Lincoln, and the noble eulogy pronounced by him at a later period upon that illustrious man before the City of Worcester attests how deeply he had been impressed by that wise, thoughtful, and majestic character. He recognized also, as the conflict opened, that it was fortunate that a Western

President had been selected to conduct us through the Red Sea of rebellion ; that no one so well " could have kept our armies, our voters, our hearts, united amid the afflictions and reverses that have rolled their thunders and their floods over us." He felt, as indeed did many others who had faithfully followed the fortunes of the Whig party, that he had theretofore been actuated only by the earnest desire to sustain a Union that had made of a few struggling colonies a mighty nation ; that there had been no indifference on his part to liberty or the just rights of men ; and that if the hour had arrived when Liberty and Union could only be preserved by arms, he was ready to accept his full share of the responsibility and the consequences. Says Mr. Senator Hoar, to whose Memoir I am indebted for much that is contained in this sketch, —

" From the earliest breaking out of the war, there was no more zealous supporter of the Government. With the spring of 1861 began the most important and conspicuous portion of his public life. From 1860 until his death he was recognized by the community in which he dwelt as the most fitting exponent of its feeling on all occasions of public joy or sorrow."

Colonel Bullock was chosen a member of the House of Representatives for the Legislature of 1861. With Governor Andrew, he fully believed that war was imminent. Its first brunt would fall on the militia troops of the loyal States, and it was in the highest degree important that in the brief time allowed before the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln everything should be done to put this most excellent and patriotic body of men into the highest state of efficiency for immediate action. Some may remember how weak this panic was said to be, and the pleasantries and facetiousness with which the purchase of a few thousand overcoats for these troops was received ; but one who has been comforted by their warmth may be pardoned for remembering gratefully the " war Governor " and his wise foresight. Colonel Bullock fully sustained these preparations. His belief that the South was in desperate earnest had induced him to favor every reasonable attempt at conciliation, and when all such had failed he felt the hour had come to use all means to crush resistance to the government. He had behind a constituency as com-

pletely determined as any in the Commonwealth to meet force and violence against the Government of the United States by a corresponding courage and determination, and with that constituency he was fully in sympathy.

The call for troops came immediately upon the firing on Fort Sumter. Massachusetts was ready, and within the week which followed the proclamation her whole quota of troops was on its way to the scene of action. Some then thought that a campaign of a summer or a year at most would end the war; but those who like Colonel Bullock had hoped that this great conflict might be spared, and that our eyes might not be forced to look on the wretched spectacle of "States discordant, belligerent, and drenched in fraternal blood," felt strongly, as the conflict had come after every means to stay it had failed, that it must be a combat of life and death between the two great systems of civilization represented by the Free and the Slave States, which stood at last front to front and face to face. It was a necessity of empire that one or the other should completely conquer. In a speech made at a war meeting on Oct. 14, 1861, to encourage the formation of the Twenty-fifth Regiment, he says:—

"We may no longer talk as we would if it were a question of averting war. We are in civil war by no fault or act or responsibility of ours. We are in civil war, and somebody must conquer and somebody else must be conquered before there can be a possibility of peace. The great historic crisis has been cast on us—so strange, so sad—and we cannot avoid it or run away from it. It is Union, the whole or none. It is the Government saved or lost. It is the National Unity preserved or extinguished. The decrees of Providence, the converging lines of history, the Revolution, the Confederation, the Constitution and seventy years of happiness and renown under it, Washington and Madison and Jackson, all have stamped the seal upon the issue, and it is—one country, one Constitution, one destiny. It is this or nothing. The Republic of the United States or the Republic of the Confederate States is to have the government of all this imperial domain. To this alternative it has come at last."

Throughout the year 1861 Colonel Bullock gave much of his time to attendance on war meetings for the recruiting of regiments, everywhere speaking with an eloquence that inspired all who listened to him. He met boldly all the questions of

taxation and expenditure, admitting their burdens, but insisting that all must be borne in so great a cause. :

He was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts by a unanimous vote in January, 1862. His conduct of the affairs of the House during the preceding year as chairman of the Judiciary Committee had so commended itself that even political opponents did not care to record their votes for another candidate. In 1863 he was re-elected by every vote but three, and in each of the years 1864 and 1865 by unanimous votes. Such a record is certainly most unusual, and bears peculiar testimony to the entire fairness as well as consummate ability with which he controlled the debates of the House. Quick of apprehension, exact in dealing with all questions however rapidly thrust upon him, clear in expression, and of unfailing courtesy, opponents felt that there was nothing they could justly expect or ask from him that was not readily accorded. It is not a small honor that throughout this most trying and anxious period he commanded so fully the respect and confidence of all parties in the House of Representatives of a State which took so prominent a part in the conflict from the beginning to its triumphant close.

Colonel Bullock considered with much thought the financial aspect of the war, on which it was obvious that so much depended; alike as it affected the debts to be incurred by the local municipalities, by the State itself, and by the burdens it must bear as one of the United States in the obligations of the National Government. He did his full share in aiding to maintain the high financial position which the State was able to preserve throughout the war as well as since. With the whole subject of our resources and products, and with the taxation they could fairly bear, State and National, he made himself familiar by careful study. Nor, little adapted as such subjects are for rhetorical display, did he hesitate to deal with them before popular audiences as well as in legislative discussion, interesting them as he was well able to do by forms of statement which lost nothing of their force or vigor because of their graceful and attractive expression. Nor did he keep back anything as to the sacrifices of property, as well as of life, that must be borne. Conceding that the State and the National governments were entering upon an era of debt, that this was a legacy which a great war must bequeath, he demon-

strated, by a most careful scrutiny of facts and figures, the capacity of each to meet every obligation that could be anticipated. He vindicated the justice of the war, and urged that while Massachusetts offered her sons on the altar of the Constitution and the country, she did so with the full determination to contribute at least the full proportion of her property and her industry to every expenditure that the emergency demanded. But wisely conservative in this as in other things, he insisted that sufficient revenues should be raised always to meet the interest and to some extent reduce the principal of every debt incurred; that no State could exist or advance financially except on this principle, and that the great maxim of Hamilton should be observed which holds it to be fundamental that the creation of a debt should be accompanied by the means of its extinguishment. He early said:—

"Our present necessities absolutely devote us to this principle. So soon as our revenues shall be sure to meet this requisition, whatever be the modes of taxation from which those revenues are derived, our securities will be in high favor and feverish excitement will give way to general confidence; and until we settle that point bank officers may visit the Secretary and he may return the visits all in vain. . . . Whatever system of taxation may be at first adopted, experience will doubtless suggest improvements which can only be ascertained by experiment. But for a stable credit which shall leave men at liberty to pursue their business and labor to receive its rewards without the fear of disturbance, such measures must be as positively certain as they are unconditionally essential. And it is for the interest of every man, whether he be rich or poor, that such taxes be at once established and maintained."

Colonel Bullock felt strongly that the North must be kept as a unit in the conflict, and that the most strenuous efforts must be made to preserve as much of the sentiment and the power of the Border States as possible. He knew well that three great States, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, while they acknowledged the system of slavery, were yet Western rather than Southern in their interests and feelings, that there was an intense feeling for the Union among those who had listened to the teachings of Webster, or had followed those great leaders of the West, — Clay, Benton, and Jackson. While he did not therefore participate in the impatience of others at the delay caused by the anxiety which the President felt to conciliate all who were in favor of the Union, he had soon

settled in his own mind that African slavery was so "intimately connected with the war that the two things could not be considered apart."

When the Proclamation came, immediately after the battle of Antietam, in 1862, in pursuance of the vow before God which Mr. Lincoln says he had made, that if Lee were driven from Maryland he would crown the victory by emancipation of the slaves, it found the people of the country completely ready. Colonel Bullock presided over and addressed large meetings in most ardent and energetic support of the measure. At a period somewhat later he said, in an address before a Republican Convention, referring to the question whether Mr. Lincoln had been too slow or too rapid in the policy he had enunciated:—

"I pause not here to settle the question between those who during the first eighteen months of his administration would have held him back to a more laggard policy or those who would have thrust him forward to a more rapid policy towards the espousal of that theory which in the judgment of all, only qualifying it as to the question of time, was the final fate and destiny of this empire. But I do say, Sir, in regard to the President of the United States, that it is sufficient to me that whenever he has taken a step or a stride forward, the Lord has seemed to irradiate and illuminate the path before him. It is sufficient for me, and for you, that he has struck the epoch bell of the ages at just and exactly such times as the people of this country and of other countries were most ready to receive the sound and to echo it in their hearts. It is sufficient for me and for you, fellow-citizens, that whether according to your estimation or mine the proclamation of freedom came early or came late, when it came at all it found the people of the North as it could not have found them before, ready to stand by it and die for it."

To the intense but wise love of liberty, the noble character, the profound statesmanship, and the wonderful capacity for dealing with new occasions as they presented themselves which the President possessed, Colonel Bullock had done full justice from the first. His address delivered before the City of Worcester on June 1, 1865, after the assassination of the President, is not only one of the most eloquent but one of the most appreciative which that fearful event called forth. Nor is it the less interesting that while it points out the clear grasp which Mr. Lincoln had of the relation between our political

and our military affairs, his knowledge of the national resources, his confidence in his ability to bring them out, and his firm reliance on the national spirit, this address also shows the military knowledge and capacity which careful study and his own clear intuitions had developed in the President. Upon this subject justice has never been done to Mr. Lincoln, nor will it be until his speeches, messages, and letters are more carefully collated in this regard. In this connection Colonel Bullock justly said : —

“If you consider how extended and complicated the objective field soon became, and how in consultation and oversight he was its director, it must occur to you in reading his correspondence with the commanders that his perceptions were clear and his judgment elementary and profound. How many toilsome, anxious hours he passed in the War Department, and how well he understood all that was transpiring and all that ought to transpire, is made apparent in the letters he himself wrote to General McClellan during the fifteen months. Read them and re-read them and you will agree that they evince in a remarkable degree for a civilian the military sense. Having committed to that officer an army of the flower of the land, he followed it with an interest alike parental and patriotic, studying the map of its marches and its hopes, breasting back while he could the impatience of the country, at all times suggesting his advice kindly to its chief, and finally, in those dark days which have made the name of Chickahominy historical, transmitting a series of despatches from his own pen which could not have been better if he had possessed the genius of a soldier. He saw through the objective and the consequential of campaigns quite as clearly and quite as far as most of the generals who wore his stars. Under the pressure of military repulse he rose large as the occasion, and when his commanders were changing their base he held hopefully to his own.”

The services of Colonel Bullock throughout the war in every form in which service could be rendered by a civilian were eminent, especially those rendered in the Legislature of the State as Speaker of the House of Representatives, and had caused him to be regarded as the natural successor of Governor Andrew whenever that gentleman might desire to retire from office. With the close of the war Governor Andrew had a right to believe that the great duties devolved upon him by the terrible struggle had been fully performed, and having declined any further re-election, Colonel Bullock was unanimously nominated as his successor by the Republican Con-

vention in the autumn of 1865. He was elected Governor of Massachusetts, and served in that capacity during the years 1866, 1867, and 1868 with the highest credit. The anxieties of the peace which follows a great civil war are many, and he met all questions which were properly the subjects of controversy with that respect for the opinions of others, that willingness to consider his own views carefully in all the light which could be afforded by those of others which characterized him. The care with which he reached his conclusions made him firm in holding them, as he knew that he had neglected no means of attaining a correct result. Habitually courteous, he well knew also how to protect his own dignity and that of the office he held when it was rudely invaded, as was quite clearly shown in a single but notable controversy with the Legislature.

Governor Bullock was deeply interested in the efforts to restore the Southern States to their normal relations, but he was not the less anxious that the great results of the conflict should not be frittered away, but firmly fixed by such changes in the Constitution as should guarantee them from invasion. While he felt that every manifestation of sectional passion ought to be buried beneath a tolerant and statesmanly amnesty, he also felt that in giving his support and adhesion as he did to the three great amendments to the Constitution they were the necessary results of the war, embodying in a more definite form the immortal truths of the Declaration of Independence, and with the adoption of which those defeated in our great civil strife had no right to be dissatisfied.

Declining a re-election in 1868, Governor Bullock retired from the office of Governor at the close of that year. While from that time forward he was unwilling to take any part in official life, his interest in public affairs did not cease. He was ready always to take his full share in the discussion of the questions of the day; but when opportunities offered, as they did, for him actively to participate in them from any official position, he was reluctant to do so. He was much attached to his library, to literary and historical studies, and in the years that followed 1868, as in those which preceded, was most generous in answering the frequent calls for addresses on literary as well as patriotic occasions. When he was urged, however, to permit his name to be used as a candidate of the party to

which he belonged for Congress, although this was by the hearty concurrence of all and in a district where a nomination was equivalent to an election, he could not be induced to consent.

On Dec. 8, 1879, he was offered, through Senator Hoar, the position of Minister to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland by President Hayes, under most flattering circumstances, but declined it. This was owing in some degree, undoubtedly, to the ill-health of his wife, to whom he was strongly attached, which he felt rendered it practically impossible for him to accept the appointment.

It was unfortunate for Governor Bullock's own fame, certainly, that at the close of his gubernatorial career he should apparently have formed the determination to end his active connection with public life. In the possession of an ample fortune, he could have made without difficulty those pecuniary sacrifices it so often entails, and from these he certainly would not have shrunk. In the discussions of Congress his words could not but have been of the highest value. A careful student, not of our own constitutional history only, but of the experience of other governments, he would have brought to the consideration of our then deeply interesting public affairs the knowledge which such an education gives, while the graceful diction and elegant expression in which he was capable of clothing his thoughts would have imparted interest to all that he uttered. His moderation and fairness in stating the adverse position of others, while he enforced his own, would have always commanded respect, even when it did not carry conviction. Governor Bullock was never placed in any position where his powers as a debater were fully tested. He left the active practice of the profession of the law very early. As a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, both before and during the Civil War, it was so strongly controlled by the party to which he belonged that there was not the same opportunity for discussion that a more evenly divided house would have presented, and he declined any election to Congress. But while not fond of controversy, especially when it assumed the irritating or personal character into which debate sometimes degenerates, he had all the qualities which mark the great masters of debate. He desired to speak only after careful preparation, for he did not belong to that class of speakers who think any

thought, however immature, is good enough for utterance ; but he required no verbal preparation. When he had thoroughly thought out his subject, his ideas naturally moulded themselves into a graceful and attractive form. He had command of all his resources when on his feet, and was quick to meet and answer any argument which an opponent could offer. But the reputation of Governor Bullock will be that of an orator rather than of a debater, and as such, whether his political or his literary addresses are studied, no man of his time can be placed above him. As such he had every physical advantage : a little above the middle height, a well-made figure, a handsome and intelligent countenance, a manner simple but elegant, a full but musical voice, attracted at once an audience. He had, above all, the temperament of an orator ; never thinking of himself, but engrossed by those whom he was addressing, his own moods responded to theirs, and he led them the way he desired by the force of his own emotions. He never struck over the head of his audience, but raised it to his own level, and, forcible and clear in statement, could make even an abstruse proposition appear simple by his method of elucidating it. His wide and ample reading gave him command of many instances with which to illustrate that of which he spoke ; but he used these strictly as illustrations, and never overloaded or encumbered his discourse with mere ornament. His addresses embraced a vast variety of subjects, and show how constantly he had been looked on for many years as the exponent in times of anxiety or doubt, of joy or sorrow, of the feeling of the energetic and vigorous community in which he dwelt. While the collection which has been made of his addresses is not complete, it is sufficient to show the characteristics of his oratory and the elevation of his thought. Those upon political affairs show how calmly he reached his own conclusions, his vigor in statement, his force in argument ; those upon the war — its causes, its anxieties, the necessity of resolutely prosecuting it, upon the recruiting of the regiments, upon the sacrifices to be cheerfully made — attest how deeply his heart was interested in the great struggle ; those upon the return of the soldiers or the dedication of monuments to their departed, replete with patriotic feeling and rejoicing in the victory that had been won, express his strong hope that the victory shall be used wisely and yet generously and magnanimously ; while

his historical and academic addresses evince his wide learning, his correct judgment, his just, pure, and manly sentiment.

In the daily concerns of the community in which he dwelt Governor Bullock took always a strong interest. He was a good citizen, neighbor, and friend. He was ready to accept those offices of trust which the general public welfare requires to be discharged by men of judgment and men of means who can have no ulterior object in the management of pecuniary affairs. It would be tedious to recount the number of these that were imposed upon him, the duties of which were faithfully and conscientiously discharged. While his lofty personal character inspired the profoundest respect, his gracious demeanor rendered him easily approachable by all. His politeness sprang from a good heart and genuine kindly feeling, and those in trouble found in him always a safe and a consoling adviser. Of an affectionate nature, those widely separated from him in talent, ability, or worldly position could come to him always sure of sweet and generous human sympathy.

Any notice of Governor Bullock would be imperfect that did not allude to his singularly fortunate and beautiful domestic life. He was married in 1844 to Elvira, daughter of Colonel A. G. Hazard, of Connecticut. This lady, and their three children, Colonel A. G. Bullock, Mrs. Nelson S. Bartlett, of Boston, and Mrs. William H. Workman, of Worcester, survive him. Into the sacred circle of the home in which from the day of his marriage to the day of his death Governor Bullock was loving and beloved, no one would rudely intrude. Whatever his honors or his successes elsewhere, here was his highest happiness throughout life. A tender and devoted husband, a wise and loving father, the affection he gave so lavishly was as generously returned. The influence of such a home is to create over all who come within it an atmosphere of calmness, peace, and love.

Governor Bullock died suddenly on the 17th of January, 1882. Some premonitions had been given him that such an ending of his life was possible. He had heeded these warnings so far as to see that his affairs were carefully kept in order, but he had not shrunk from the large number of duties he was performing in connection with the financial institutions of Worcester. However sudden his death, it could not have found him unprepared. His public life by his own determina-

tion had closed ; but as he looked back and remembered how often his words had been listened to in the hours of anxiety, he could have recalled no occasion when he had appealed to anything but high motives, patriotic purposes, and honorable action. While his eloquent voice is forever silent, "he has left behind him the memory of great trusts worthily discharged, of opportunities for usefulness well improved, of a private life honorable, beautiful, and without a stain."

OCTOBER MEETING, 1887.

THE first meeting of the Society after the summer vacation took place on the 13th instant, the President, Dr. ELLIS, in the chair.

The record of the proceedings at the last meeting was read by the Recording Secretary.

The monthly report of gifts to the Library was made by the Librarian.

The Corresponding Secretary presented the following letter and accompanying documents: —

CAMBRIDGE, Sept. 22, 1887.

JUSTIN WINSOR, ESQ.

The Trumbull Papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society are, as might naturally be expected, rich in material bearing upon the discussion of the right of Connecticut to effect a settlement in the valley of the Susquehanna. One volume of the manuscripts is exclusively devoted to the topic, and is entitled "The Susquehanna Papers." Beside these papers, there are others scattered through the volumes which relate to the subject, and there are a few that treat of the attack on the settlement in 1778, which is generally spoken of as the "Wyoming Massacre."

Among these I find a copy of the capitulation agreement entered into, July 4, 1778, between Colonel John Butler, in behalf of his Majesty King George III., and Colonel Nathan Denison, in behalf of the United States of America. Miner, when at work upon his History of Wyoming, procured a copy of this document from London, and published it.

There is also a report of the attack upon the valley, addressed to Governor Trumbull, dated at Lower Smithfield Township, in the State of Pennsylvania, July 28, 1778, and signed by Nathan Denison. So far as I know, this report has never been published. The American forces in the valley, outside the Continental Company, were organized by Colonel Denison.

Colonel Zebulon Butler, a resident in the valley and an officer in the Continental Army, was at Westmoreland at the time of the attack. He commanded the Americans in the action on the 3d of July, and after the defeat withdrew from the valley with what remained of the com-

pany of Continentals. Denison remained in charge of the defences, and made terms with the British commander. This report is therefore the official report of the commander of the Connecticut Militia, giving an account of the disaster, to the Governor of the State. The facts stated in the report agree substantially with Miner's account of the affair.

There is also a brief description of the event, with a detailed account of the lamentable condition of the inhabitants of the valley, which has neither date nor signature, but which, from an indorsement on the back, appears to have been made by John Jenkins, Aug. 26, 1778. I have not met with this in print.

There is also an interesting list of those who were killed in the battle of the 3d of July, 1778, and who left families, giving the number of children thus left fatherless. This list is signed by John Jenkins, Nathan Denison, and others. It was evidently prepared to demonstrate the necessity there was for aid from Connecticut for so many dependent, helpless families. The date of the battle, the names of the committee, and the names of many of those who fell serve to connect the paper with the Wyoming affair; and upon evidence of this sort we are compelled to rely, as there is no place mentioned in the document itself.

There is an appeal for aid, addressed to Governor Trumbull by Jacob Johnson, who had been settled as a clergyman at Wilkesbarre, which states the case of the Wyoming sufferers in vigorous language.

It is easy to understand how these papers have been overlooked. Investigators engaged in the special study of the topic would naturally expect to find in the volume of "Susquehanna Papers" all that they sought. Thus, the attention of those who might be termed experts in the matter was not only never attracted especially to these documents, but was in effect actually diverted from them. To a student of the records, whose mind was turned towards other subjects, there was no suggestion of the value of Denison's report, nor of its connection with Wyoming, in the heading "Lower Smithfield, Pennsylvania," nor in the indorsement that it related to the "Westmoreland Attack." It is not strange therefore that this report should have been overlooked, nor is it remarkable that the "list of killed in the battle of July 3, 1778," having upon its face nothing to indicate where the battle was fought, has not attracted the attention that it deserves.

The subject of the Wyoming attack is one in which great interest is taken, and a large number of historical students will welcome the publication of anything which will throw light upon the story. The value of the report of Denison, the statement of Jenkins, and the list of killed, etc., is self-evident, and I believe the appeal of Johnson for aid also has enough of interest in itself to be entitled to publication.

Yours truly,

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.

ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION.

WESTMORELAND 4th of July 1778.

Capitulation Agreement made & completed between Col. John Butler in behalf of his Majesty King George the 3d & Col^o Nathan Denison of the United States of America —

Article 1 viz that the settlement lay down there arms & there gar-risons be demolished.

Art. 2^d that the Inhabitenc are to occupy there farms Peacably and the Lives of the Inhabitenc Preserved intier & unhurt.

Art. 3d that the Continental Stoars be Delivered up.

Art 4th that Colⁿ Butler will use his utmost influence that the Privet Property of the inhabitenc shall be Presarvd intier to them.

Art 5th that the Prisoners confined forty-four be delivered up & that Samuel Finch now in Colⁿ Butlers Possession be deliverd up.

Art 6 that the Properties taken from the People up the River called tories be made good & they to remain in Peaceable Possession on there farms & in a free trade with & through this settlement as far as lies in my power.

Art 7th that the inhabitenc that Colⁿ Nathan Denison Capitulates for together with himself doe not take up arms during this contest —

ZERAH BEECH —

JOHN JOHNSTON

LEMUEL GUSTON

WILLM COLDWELL

JOHN BUTLER

NATHAN DENISON.

A Copy

ENDORSEMENT:

4 July 1778 — Capitulation between Col^o Jno Butler of the British Troops & Lt Col^o Nathan Denison made at Westmoreland — violated by the British — rec'd 4th Aug — 1778.

DENISON'S REPORT.

LOWER SMITHFIELD TOWNSHIP IN THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA
the 28th of July 1778.

HONOURED S^r as my circumstances have been such that it rendered allmost impracticable for me to give your Excelency an account of the unhapy affair that hapned at Westmoreland on the 3d of this instant shall now indever to Represent the affair: on the Last of June We got intelligence of a Party of the Enemy being up the River about 30 miles Distant from us the Party supposed not to be grate the Next Day after another scout Returned and gave an account that they had Discovered about fifty Cannoe Loads of the Enemy with considerable

parties of them on each side the River coming down Which intelligence alarmed the inhabitation so that some ware for securing there famalies in our forts others for moveing out, of the settelment in this situation We collected to the numbr of four Hundred of our men and marched up the River in order to meet the Enemy but not meeting with them saving a small scout which ware killed by our People the Day before this hapned the Enemy fell on a small Party of our men that ware at work killed four of them the other made there escape the Next Day after the body of the Enemy came to a small fort & demanded it which was instantly given up Whear they mad there Head Quarters during the time they was in the settelment there Parties ware Distroying our Cattle Horses &c the Day that we had the battle with them we had between three & four Hundred men collected at Kingstown fort about three miles distant from the Enemy in this situation it was concluded best to march out and attack the Enemy upon which there was a little over three Hundred that marched out & attack them the Enemy got no advantage of us in the first fire but we ware over Powerd by numbers our People ware obliged to retreat the Number Killed on our sid can not be certing Knoon but I beleve not far from two Hundred the numbr of the Enemy killed not far from Eighty the next morning John Butler the Commander of the Ene [frayed away. There is space enough for such words as "enemy's forces" or "enemy's troops"] sent a flag to demand the fort I let him no that I wold see him at one o'clock after noon after which I went to the Loar Part of the settlemnt to find the situation of the People & found numbrs of Wimen & Children then in the Roads some Pushing out of the settlement some one way & some the other in the utmost distres and ankeiety indevering to make there escape from the Savesges at my Return to the fort foun that it was the minds of the grater Part of the Peopl then Present to Capitulate with the enemy I went to there Camp & was put to the disagreeable necessity of sineing the inclosed Paper after which no person was hurt by the Enemy untill after I left that plac the Next Day after I come from there: there was five Persons murderd by the Enemy on the Rode as they was coming from there and as the artickls of cappitulation are brook on the part of the Enemy I do not look upon myself holden on my part by them and expect soon to Return to Return to Westmoreland to see if some trifels can be saved that the savesges have left the numbr of Enemy that came against us did not exceed seven or Eight Hundred at most by the best information I can git.

I am sir with due Regard Your Exlences most obedient humble

NATHAN DENISON

N. B. I find that there is Numbers of People in this State desine to take the advantage of our distresed situation to get Posesion of our

Settlement which I think cannot be allowed of but the greatest part of them have been very kind to our scattered inhabitants.

SUPERScription :

To His Excellency JON^A TRUMBEL Esq^r Govern^r of ye State of Connecticut.

ENDORSEMENT :

LOWER SMITHFIELD IN WESTMORELAND July 28, 1778.

Lt. Col^o NATHAN DENISON
de Westmoreland attacked.

by the Enemy. recd 4th Aug^t 1778.

STATEMENT BY JOHN JENKINS.

That upwards of 3000 Inhabitants belonging to the State in the Town of Westmoreland on the Susquehanna River were on or about the 3d of July last attacked by a party of Tories & Indians & after in a most inhuman manner killing upwards of 300 men plundered took destroyed & Carried off all their Stock of all kind, also took destroyed & Carried off all their household furniture Clothing &c. Even a great deal they had on their bodies together with all their farming tools &c : in a word the whole of the Inhabitation were in the space of four or five days stripped of all they had Reduced to a state of Begery & want, their houses Mills barns & all kinds of buildings were Consumed by fire & they by Necessity drove out of the Country & are now Dispersing themselves amongst their friends & must at present be dependant on God & the Charity of their friends for their subsistence being stripped of money Clothing or any thing to subsist on : or even tools to do any kind of Labour withall and as they have Nothing to Depend on under heaven but the pure mercies of God & the Charity of the people except their lands in Westmoreland & their crops growing on the same (which is Large) if they could be saved & therefore desire that the state of their unhappy & distressed circumstance might be laid before the Hon^l Continental Congress, & Gener^l Washington & in the utmost humiliation hope they will take there distressed Circumstances under their wise and Serious Consideration & in their great wisdom Divise some speedy measures for the Recovery & Restoration of their lands crops &c as well as to relieve them in their other present Distresses

ENDORSEMENT :

JOHN JENKINS Esq.

representation of the depredations of the Enemy at Westmoreland,
made Aug. 26. 1778.

LIST OF KILLED IN THE BATTLE JULY 3, 1778.

*A Catalogue of those that were Killed in the Battle of the 3d of July 1778
and left Families with the Number of Children.*

Col. Dorrance	×	8	Jno Williams	4	Elias Roberts	7		
Major Garret		10	Joseph Crookes	1	Timothy Rose	4		
Capt. Durkee	×	4	Abel palmer	7	Isaac Campbell	10		
Capt. Ransom	×	8	Jos. Staples	5	John Franklin	7		
Capt. Bedlock	×	4	Jabez Darling	4	Jenks Coser	3		
Capt. Buck		1	Aaron Start	8	Cyprian Hibbard	2		
Capt. Whittlesey		3	Wm Dunn	6	Elijah Inman	×	2	
Capt. McKenican			Jno Brown	4	Nath ^l Howard		1	
Capt. Geers		6	Henry Pencil	×	6			
Capt. Steward	×	10	Francis Leopard		N. B. Killed by the			
Capt. Wigton	×	4	Noah Pettibone	2	Salvages in Skirmishes.			
Lieut. Wells		9	James Hopkins	2				
Lieut. Pierce	×	2	Elisha Richards	7	Jonathan Slocum	×	7	
Lieut. Ross		5	Gilbert Danthorn	6	John Perkins		2	
Lieut. Asa Steven	×	8	Danl Lawrence		John Jemerson	×	3	
Lieut. Waterman		4	Jno Cartwright		Asa Chapman	×	4	
Lt. Shoemaker	×	3	Wm Parker	1	Elihu Williams		2	
Lt. Gaylard		3	Wm Woodringer	6	Asahel Buck	×	2	
Lt. Stewart	×	1	Ichad Tuttle	3	Jz Abbott		8	
Lt. Atherton			Rufus Williams	×	3	Edward Lester	×	4
Ens ^s Asa Gore	×	1	Nicholas Manvil	6	Timothy Keyes		5	
Silas Gore	×	3	Parker Wilson	3	Sam ^l Jackson	×	6	
Wm White		4	David Bixby	2	Asa Upson	×	3	
Jeremiah Bickford			Jos. Shaw	6	Eaton Jones			
Titus Hinman		6	Jno. Van Wye	5	Lem ^l Fitch	×		
Anderson Dana		8	Stephen Fuller	1	Benj ⁿ Leach		1	
Darius Spafford		1	Jno. Finch	6	Dan ^l St John		2	
Peter Wheeler		3	Danl Finch	7	David Goss		1	
Jon ^s Weeks		5	Constant Searls	8	Japhet Utley		4	
Philip Weeks	×	3	Elipha ^l Follet	6	Amos York		6	
Silas Benedict		4	Jno Murphy	×	3	Joseph Blanchard	×	6
Jabez Beers		2	Thos Foren	4	John Guardner		4	
Joseph Ogden		3	Henry Bush	×	8	Harding		2
			George Downing	6	Harding		3	
			James Locke	2	James Headsall		4	
			William Crookes	1	Miner Robin		1	
			Benj ⁿ Hatch	1				
No Children		136		145			116	

List Bro^t forward Killed by Salvages.

No —

Nathan Wade.

The following belonged to the Continental Service & left widows &c.

David Walker

×

5 children

The following died of sickness since the commen^t of the War & left Families whose dependance is on their Interest to these Lands.

Benjⁿ Cole
Elisha Swift
Wm Kellogg

×

2

6

7

Ezekiel Hamilton	3	Winchett Matterson	9
Constant Matthewson	1	Benedict Saterley	5
Nath ^l Johnson	5	Jonathan Hunstock	× 3
Charles Gaylord	6	David Marvin	2
Eben ^r Roberts	2	Ezekiel Pierce	1
Robert Spencer	5	Joshua Bennet	× 8
Baker	4	Gad Marshall	7
John Vangorder	× 2	Jacob Sly	4
Aseh Jeromus	3	Wm Smith	× 7
Seth Marvin	× 2	Uriah Marvin	2
Peter Ousterhomt	2	Jonathan Pritchard	× 9
Sam ^l Kellemey	4	Tho ^r Sawyer	× 3
Michael Rood	3	Sam ^l Roberts	6
Wm Davidson	1	Obadiah Gore	× 2
Nath ^l Fry	× 3	John Hurlburt	× 6
Joseph Dewey	3	John Comstock	× 8
Jesse Coleman	2		—
Jeremiah Coleman	1		
Sam ^l Roberts	6		
Sam ^l Williams	8		
	—		
	74		

Those marked are now¹ present.

This copy is signed in behalf of the Committee

Attest Wm SHERMAN

JOHN JENKINS	} Committee
NATHAN DENNISON	
OBADIAH GORE	
SAM ^l SHEPHERD	

LETTER FROM JACOB JOHNSON.

WALLINGFORD October 20th 1778.

Sr — When I was In Hartford Tuesday last I purposed to have waited on your Excellency, before I went out of Town, but being suddenly call'd away, I had no convenient opportunity, without transgressing order — I therefore use this way of writing, to communicate my mind to you sir, with respect to the Present Distressing state of the People, at Westmoreland, on the Susqu^h; both as to the Defence of the Present Inhabitants there; & the sufferers (of whom I am one of the Chief) driven from thence — I have had some talk with Col. Dyer, & some other Gent^l on the subject. Col Denison Representative, & I suppose Agent, for the Town, & County of Westmoreland, not being then in the Assembly, or Town — I do therefore, as a sufferer, & one Interested, & concerned both in the Common cause of the State, of

¹ The letters in the manuscript indicate "now" as nearly as anything else. There being no date to the paper, there is nothing to help in determining what the word really is. If the paper was written in the valley, it might be that those marked were "now" present.

Connecticut: but in *that* as a very Important Intrest of the state, & more specially so, to the former Inhabitants (so many of whom are drove off, and have no certain dwelling place) and those in Particular that are on the Ground, with but one single Company for their defence: besides a number of the Inhabitants All of which amount, to but about one hundred & fifty — And that Company which is there, were raised out of the Inhabitants there, with two more that have be'n in the Continental Service, untill, & after our suffering —

The amount of one of those Companys raised on the Susq^{ha} are extinguished by sword & sickness; the other what remains are in the Continental Service — Wherefore we think it but Reesonable & Equita[ble] that at least Two Companys more should be orderd to Westmoreland — That a good & sufficient Fort & Garison be Placed there and the sufferers in some way be provided for — That the Inhabitants there may not fall a prey to the sword — nor be Dispersed Sufferers to Famine & Nakedness. — and final death.

From your Excellency's most Obed't Hum^b Servt.

JACOB JOHNSON,

*Late Minister of Christ at Wilkesbarre on Susq^{ha} —
On behalfe of his Fellow Sufferers.*

To his Excellency the Governor and Company of the State of Connecticut — To be deliberated up on and something done (if it may be) according as the Nature & Necessity of the Cause requires & Calls for — And the Calamity of the Present distressing war with Great Britain will admit of.

N. B. I presume Col. N. Denison (as agent) will present a Memorial to the Gen^l Assembly of the State of Connecticut, now sitting, relative to the distressing State of the Inhabitants of Westmoreland. — But in case of failure, I hope your Excellency and the Gen^l Assembly of this State of Connecticut, will not forget, or neglect, the suffering, bleeding cause, of so many Widdows, Fatherless children & mourners — And especially, that cry of the Blood! of so many slain! that calls for Justice to be done on the murtherers.

SUPERSSCRIPTION:

To His Excellency Jonath^a. Trumbull Esq^r at Hartford Gen^l Assembly.

ENDORSEMENT:

29th Oct^r 1778

Mr Jacob Johnson

de Westmoreland

rec^d 31st Oct^r 1778

Dr. GREEN reported that a parcel of papers deposited by the late Miss Dorothea L. Dix, on Feb. 12, 1880, as well as a

package of bronze and silver medals, a tin box, and a long box containing flags, previously deposited, were delivered by him, on September 23 and 24, to Horace A. Lamb, the executor of her estate, and receipts for the same were taken.

Dr. Green also said that he had received a letter from Theodore Bacon, Esq., of Rochester, New York, which perhaps throws some light on the history of a medallion said to have been "found when digging the foundation of the Railway Bridge over the Chatham-Dover Railway," of which a cast was given to the Society on March 9, 1865.

DR. SAMUEL A. GREEN.

SEPTEMBER 16, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR, — I promised you, the other day, to put into writing and send what I undertook to tell you at Boston in regard to the curious medallion with the undeciphered inscription which I saw in your rooms that day. I suggested, after you made that request of me, that I might send rubbings, or some other image of the somewhat similar medallion with which my personal experience had to do. It has since occurred to me, however, as better in every way to send the article itself, asking that you will, after such examination and exhibition of it as you find convenient, return it through me to its owner. I enclose herewith also the pleasing note which accompanied it to-day to my office.

After I had, two or three years ago, puzzled myself for a long time with attempts to decipher the inscription, and to find, in some way, time and place for the object, and had exhibited it to such wise men as I was able to find here and at the East, for a similar purpose, but with no better result, it occurred to me to ask leave to take it on a short European vacation, and to get authoritative opinions upon it at the British Museum. When I called there, during a very short visit to London, upon a message to one of the assistants in the archaeological department, I left it by accident at my hotel. Concluding, however, my business with him, I mentioned this object, and the very great perplexity it had caused. I described it as nearly as possible in all particulars. When I had finished, he asked me, "Was it not said to have been brought up from the bottom of the Thames?" and when I answered in the affirmative (for that was the story with which it came to its owner), he informed me promptly that it was an object very familiar to them at that institution, — that just those things, with just that story, were very numerous, and that they were all absolutely nothing but forgeries.

If now you will examine the medal in your collection, different as it is, in many respects, from this one, you will be delighted, I am sure, to

find the close similarity of style and character which pervades it. The images which it bears, different as they are, are of absolutely the same sort as this. The legend which surrounds it is in the same characters, having the same tantalizing approach to something intelligible without ever reaching it, and, curiously enough, a date in Arabic characters which would make either object, if it were genuine, connected as they are with manifestly Gothic letters, of enormous archaeological and pecuniary value. For I believe that it is only at some time in the eleventh century that Arabic characters appeared in western Europe; and both of these objects bear what appear to be dates quite early in that century.

Whether your medallion bears any other distinctive note of dishonesty, I am not certain. But this one is obviously cast in a mould; and inasmuch as it can safely be said, I believe, that at the period to which alone, if genuine, this object could be referred, such things were made in no other way than by striking in a die, that alone would serve to condemn it, and ought to have instructed me as to its character very early in my examination of it.

Very truly yours,

THEODORE BACON.

Mr. WINSOR drew attention to a manuscript statement (belonging to the Society) of the reasons which induced the Commissioners under Jay's Treaty to decide that the Schoodiac River was the St. Croix of the Treaty of 1783. The award or "declaration" of the Commissioners had been several times printed,¹ but Mr. Winsor could not find that this exposition as drawn up by Egbert Benson, the American Commissioner, had ever been given to the public. The manuscript has four well-executed copies of maps attached: (1) Champlain's map of St. Croix Island, (2) a modern survey of Bone or Douchet Island, identified as Champlain's St. Croix Island (3) a section of Mitchell's map of 1755, used by the Commissioners in 1783; (4) a modern survey of Passamaquoddy Bay. Champlain's map is well known, though Mr. Benson says that the Commissioners were obliged to send to Europe for a copy of the "Voyages" of 1613, which contains it.² Mr. Winsor said that he visited the island in question a

¹ U. S. Ho. of Rep. Ex. Doc. No. 81, 27th Cong. 3d sess. note ii.; Atcheson's *American Encroachments*, London, 1808; and elsewhere.

² There are copies of the book now in the Library of this Society, and in several of the important American libraries. A good copy is worth from \$100 to \$150 at the present time. The map is easily found at this day in the modern reprints and translations of Champlain, in the "Narrative and Critical History of

few years since, but he could find no traces of the foundations of the buildings mentioned by Mr. Benson, and he learned that the stone had been taken for building purposes, and was very likely worked into the foundations of the cottage, now on the island, which carries a coast-lantern of the United States on its roof. Mitchell's map is well known; and fac-similes of it were given in Gallatin's "Northeastern Boundary" (1840), in "Mass. Doc. Mar. 1838, No. 67," and in other places.

It will be observed that the argument in the main followed by the Commissioners is this: Mitchell's map is so inaccurately drawn that the evidence deducible from it must be considered defective in every way. This postulate threw out of consideration the fact that on Mitchell's map the most easterly of the rivers flowing into the Passamaquoddy Bay and marked "St. Croix," was the real easterly river, known as the Magaguadavic, which was the river contended for by the Americans. This left the question to be settled by the determination of what was the original St. Croix of Champlain's party. The statement of Mr. Benson, which here follows, shows the arguments in favor of considering Bone or Douchet Island as the island occupied by Champlain.

A manuscript statement of the controversy between the United States of America and Great Britain in regard to the eastern boundary of the former in the year 1796, by the hon^{ble} Egbert Benson one of the commissioners: presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society by the Author, through the hands of His Excellency Governor Strong, Anno 1802.

BENSON	}	<i>commissioners.</i>
BARCLAY		
HOWELL		

JAMES SULLIVAN *American Agent*
WARD CHIPMAN *British Agent.*

On the Question between His Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, "What River was truly intended, under the Name of the River S^t Croix, mentioned in the Treaty of Peace of the 3^d Nov^r;

America" (vol. iv. p. 137), etc. T. C. Amory (James Sullivan, vol. i. p. 322) says that "Colonel Pickering procured for Sullivan [the American agent] many valuable books, and among others, after sending for them without success to Europe, borrowed from the library of Jefferson copies of Champlain and Lescarbot.

1783, and forming a part of the Boundary therein described?" referred to the final Decision of Commissioners by the 5th Article of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation of the 19th Nov; 1794.

The *Scudiac* claimed on the part of His Majesty, and the *Magadavic* on the part of the United States.

Boundaries of the United States as described in the Treaty of 1783 — "From the *north west* Angle of Nova Scotia viz: that Angle which is formed by a Line drawn *due North* from THE Source of *S^t Croix* River to the *Highlands*, along the said Highlands which divide those Rivers that empty themselves into the River *S^t Lawrence* from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean" — then follow the Northern, Western and Southern Boundaries, and then — "East by a Line to be drawn along the Middle of the River *S^t Croix* from its Mouth in the Bay of Fundy to its *Source* and from its Source *directly north* to the aforesaid Highlands which divide the Rivers that fall into the Atlantic Ocean from those which fall into the River *S^t Lawrence*."

Boundaries of Nova Scotia in the Grant from King James to Sir William Alexander of the 10th Sep; 1621, translated from the Latin — "All and singular the Lands Continents and Islands situate in America within the Headland or Promontory called Cape Sable lying near the Latitude of forty three Degrees or thereabout from the Equinoctial Line towards the north from which Promontory stretching towards the Shore of the Sea to the west to a Bay commonly called *S^t Mary's Bay* and then towards the north by a direct Line passing the Entrance or Mouth of that great Bay which runs into the eastern Quarter between the Territories of the *Souriguois* and *Etchemins* to a River commonly called by the Name of *S^t Croix* and to the most *remote* Spring or Fountain thereof from the *western* Quarter which *first mingles* itself with the aforesaid *River* thence by an imaginary *direct* Line which may be conceived to go through the Land or run *towards the north* to the nearest Bay *River* or Spring discharging itself into the *Great River of Canada* &c; &c; which certain Lands shall in all future times enjoy the Name of *Nova Scotia* in America."

A *variance* will be perceived between the Description of the *Sides* of the *north west* Angle of Nova Scotia as originally contained in the Grant of 1621 and as subsequently found in the Treaty of 1783, it may not be useless therefore previously to mention — that Canada was shortly after the final Cession of it by France to Great Britain in 1763, "erected into a district and separate Government, stiled and called by the Name of *Quebec*, bounded on the Labrador Coast by the River *S^t John* and from thence by a Line from the Head of that River through the Lake *S^t John* to the south end of the Lake *Nipissim* from whence the said Line, crossing the River *S^t Lawrence* and the Lake *Champlain* in 45 degrees of north Latitude, passes along the Highlands

which divide the Rivers that empty themselves into the said River S^t Lawrence from those which fall into the Sea &c^a &c^a &c^a — that Nova Scotia was thereupon in the Commissions to the Governors, bounded on the westward by a Line drawn from Cape Sable across the Entrance of the Bay of Fundy to the Mouth of the River S^t Croix, by the said River to its *Source*, and by a Line drawn *due north* from thence to the *southern* Boundary of the Colony of *Quebec*, to the *northward* by the said Boundary &c^a &c^a &c^a — and that hence it is, that, at the time of the Treaty of 1783, the *Highlands* instead of the River S^t Lawrence formed the *north* side, and a Line *directly* north, or *due* north, the *west* side, of the *north west* Angle of Nova Scotia; and also that the *Source* of the River S^t Croix, from which the Line was to be drawn, was the *Source generally*, regardless of the *Position* of it, or the *Place*, or *Quarter* whether *western* or not, or the *Distance*, whether most *remote* or not when compared with any *other* *Source*, before the Waters from it *mingled* themselves with the River.

It is now to be stated that the River is described or *expressed* in the Treaty of 1783, as “that River a *Line* drawn *due north* from the *Source* of which forms the *west* side of the *north west* Angle of Nova Scotia;” and that the following Points are assumed as being unquestionable. 1st That the River was not *expressed* as it is, either by *Mistake* or *Fraud* — 2^{dy} That the River *expressed* must therefore be *adjudged* to be the River *intended* — 3^{dly} That the River *expressed* in the Treaty of 1783, and the River *expressed* in the Grant for Nova Scotia, are the *same* River; and 4^{thly} That consequently, the River, to be sought for, must be the River intended in the Grant; the following Proposition of *Fact* is therefore advanced, and the Proofs subjoined, viz^t, That the French Colonists, in 1604, named a certain *Island*, lying in what is properly an *Arm* of the *Bay* of Passamaquaddy, but by them considered, and accordingly denominated *River*, the *Island* of S^t Croix; that the Name was almost *instantly* applied *indiscriminately* as well to the *River* as to the *Island*; that the *River* is the *same* River intended under that *Name* in the Grant for Nova Scotia; and when distinguished by its supposed *Indian* Name, and by which it is more generally known, is called the *Scudiac*.

Extracts from a Publication by Sir William Alexander in London in 1624 under the Title of *Encouragement to Colonies* — “Monsieur De Montes procuring a Patent, from King Henry the fourth, of Canada from the 40th Degree eastward, comprehending all the Bounds that now is between New England and New Scotland, (after that Queen Elizabeth had formerly given one thereof as belonging to this Crown by Chabot's *Discoverie*) did set forth with a hundred Persons fitted for a Plantation, carried in two Ships” — after a brief Relation of the Voyage from France to Port Royal he proceeds — “After having seen

Port Royal they went to the *River* called by them *Sainte Croix*, but more fit now to be called *Tweede*, because it divides New England and New Scotland, bounding the one of them upon the East, and the other upon the west, side thereof; here they made Choice of an *Isle* that is within the *Middle* of the same, where to winter, building House's sufficient to lodge their Number" — he concludes his Relation by mentioning — "that in the End, finding that a little *Isle* was but a large Prison, they resolved to return unto Port Royal" — speaking of the Limits of his Patent he says — "leaving the Limits to be appointed by his Majestie's Pleasure, which are expressed in the Patent granted unto Me under his Great Seale of his Kingdom of Scotland, marching upon the west towards the *River* of Saint Croix, now *Tweed* (where the Frenchmen did designe their first Habitation) with New-England; and on all other parts it is compassed by the Ocean and the Great River of Canada" — to this Publication a Map is annexed, in which a River is laid down, under the Name of *Tweede*, as a Boundary between New England and New Scotland, and doubtless intended to represent the *S^t. Croix*.

The Voyage of De Monts, above referred to by Sir William Alexander, was in the Spring of 1604, and has been written by two different cotemporary Persons, *Champlain*, who was with him, and L'Escarbot, who came out to *La Cadie* in 1606 with Pourtrincourt, when he returned to succeed De Monts in the Attempt to colonise, and was himself the next Year at *S^t. Croix* — The British Commissaries, in the Memorials between them and the French Commissaries, concerning the Limits of Nova Scotia or Acadia, printed in London in 1755, say, "the most ancient Chart extant, of this Country, is that which *Escarbot* published with his History in 1609;" and a Book published in London that Year by *P. Erondelle*, under the Title of *Nova Francia &c^e. translated out of the French into English*, is evidently a Translation of this first Edition of L'Escarbot — *Champlain* published in 1613 — From these writers therefore undoubtedly Sir William Alexander obtained his Information of the Voyage of De Monts, and of the Country — They relate that De Monts, after visiting several Places on the eastern Shore of the Bay of Fundy, and among them the Bay of *S^t. Mary* and Port Royal, came, on the 24th June, to the River *S^t. John*; and the following Extracts from them, translated from the French, contain the Voyage thence, and other subsequent Transactions material in the present Enquiry —

Champlain — Edit: 1613 — "From the River *S^t. John* we were at four Islands, on one of which we were ashore, and there found a great Abundance of Birds, called *Margos*, of which we took a number of young ones as good as young Pigeons. The *Sieur Pourtrincourt* was nearly losing himself there, but finally returned to our Bark as we were

going to search for him round the Island, which is three Leagues distant from the Main Land. Further to the west are other Islands; one containing six Leagues called by the Savages *Manthane*, to the south of which there are among the Islands many good Ports for Vessels. From the Isles of *Margos* we were at a *River* in the main Land called the *River* of the *Etchemins*, a Nation of Savages so named in their own Country; and we passed by a great Number of Islands, more than we could count, pleasant enough, containing some two Leagues, others three, others more or less. All these Islands are in a Bay, which contains, in my Judgment, more than fifteen Leagues in Circumference; in which there are a number of convenient Places to put as great a number of Vessels as one pleases; which in their Season abound in Fish, such as Cod, Salmon, *Bass*, Herring, Holibut, and other Fish, in great Number. Making *west north west*, through these Islands, we entered into a LARGE *River*, which is almost *half a League* broad at it's *Entrance*, where, having made a League or two, we found *two* Islands, the *one* very *small* near the *Shore* on the *west*, the other in the *Middle*, which may have *eight or nine* hundred Paces in Circumference; the Banks of which are rocky and three or four Toises high, except a small Place a *Point of Sand and Clay*, which may serve to make Bricks and other necessary things. There is another sheltered Place to put Vessels from *eighty to one hundred Tons*, but it is *dry at low water*. The Island is filled with Firs, Birches, Maples, and Oaks. Of itself it is in a good Situation; and there is only one side, where it slopes about forty paces, which is easy to be fortified, the *Shores* of the *Main Land* being distant on *each Side* about *nine hundred or a thousand Paces*. Vessels cannot pass on the *River* but at the *Mercy* of the Cannon on the Islands; which is the place we judged best, as well for the Situation, the Goodness of the Country, as for the Communication we proposed to have with the Savages of the Coasts and the interior Country; being in the Midst of them. This place is named by the Name of the *Island Saint Croix*. Passing *higher up* one sees a great *Bay*, in which there are *two* Islands, the *one high*, the other *low*, and *three Rivers*, *two* of a *middling Size*, *one* going towards the *east*, and the *other to the north*, and the *third* is *large*, which goes to the *west*. This is that of the *Etchemins* of which we have spoken above. Going into it *two Leagues*, there is a *Fall* of Water, where the Savages re-entring it, from which, afterwards, crossing over a small Space of Land, one goes into the *River Norembeque* and of *S^t John*. In this place of the *Fall*, which the Vessels cannot pass because there is nothing but Rocks and because that there is no more than four or five feet Water, in May and June they take as great Abundance of *Bass* and Herrings as they can lade in their Vessels. The Soil is very fine, and there are about fifteen

or twenty Acres of Land cleared, where the *Sieur De Monts* sowed some Grain which came up very well. The Savages stay here some times five or six Weeks during the fishing Season. All the rest of the Country is a very thick Forest. If the Land was cleared Grain would grow there very well. This place is in forty five Degrees and one third Latitude, and the Variation of the Magnetic Needle is seventeen Degrees and thirty two minutes . . . Not having found a place more fit than this Island, we began to make a Barricade on a small Island a little seperated from the Island, which served as a *Platform* for our *Cannon*. Every one employed himself so faithfully that in a little time it was rendered a Defence . . . then the *Sieur De Mons* began to employ the workmen to build the Houses for our Abode . . . After the *Sieur De Mons* had taken the place for the Magazine, which was nine Toises long, and three broad, and twelve feet high, he fixed on the Plan of his own Lodging, which was immediately built by good workmen; he then assigned to each his place . . . We then made some *Gardens*, as well on the main Land, as on the Island . . . The *Sieur De Mons* determined on a Change of place, and to make another Habitation to avoid the Cold and Evils which we had in the Island *S^t Croix*. Not having found any Port which was proper for Us then, and the little time we had to lodge ourselves and to build Houses for that purpose, we caused two Barks to be equipped, on which was laden the Carpenter's Work, of the Houses of *S^t Croix*, to be carried to Port Royal, twenty five Leagues from thence, where we judged an Abode would be more mild and temperate" —

In his Edition of 1632, after the above Passage where he mentions the *Latitude* and the *Variation* of the Needle, he adds, "in this place was the Habitation made in 1604," and then immediately commences another Chapter as follows. "From the said *River S^t Croix &c^e &c^e &c^e*."

L'escarbot — Edit: 1618 — "Leaving the *River S^t John* they came, following the Coast, at twenty Leagues from thence, into a *great River* (which is properly *Sea*) where they encamped on a small *Island* in the *Middle* of it, which being found strong by Nature and of easy Defence, besides that the Season had began to pass, and therefore it became them to think how they were to be lodged, without going farther they resolved to stay there . . . the Company staid there in the *Middle* of a *large River*, where the wind from the north and north west blows at pleasure; and because at two Leagues above there are some Streams which coming *cross-wise*, to discharge themselves into this *large Arm* of the *Sea*, this Island, the Retreat of these French, was called *Sainte Croix*, twenty five Leagues more distant than Port-Royal . . . Before we speak of the Return of the Ships to France, it becomes Us to say that the Island of *S^t Croix* is very difficult to be found by one who has never been there;

for there are so many Islands and great Bays to pass before one comes there, that I am astonished how any one had Patience to penetrate so far to go to find it. There are *three or four Mountains*, high above the others, on the Coasts, but on the *north* part from whence the *River* comes down, there is a *pointed* one more than *two Leagues* distant. The woods of the Main Land are handsome and high to Admiration, and so is the Herbage. There are Streams of fresh Water; very agreeable, where many of the People of the *Sieur De Monts* did their Work, and hutted there. As to the Nature of the Soil it is very good and happily fruitful; for the *Sieur De Monts*, having caused a Piece of Land to be cultivated and sown with Rye, (I have not seen any wheat there) he had not the Means to attend to its Maturity to gather it, the Grain which fell had notwithstanding grown and shot up again wonderfully, so that two Years after we gathered of it, as fair, large, and heavy as any in France, and which this Soil hath produced without Culture; and at present it continues to increase every Year. The said Island is about *half a French League* in Circuit, and at the *End*, towards the *Sea*, there is a *Hillock*, and as it were a *separate small Island*, where the said *Sieur De Monts* placed his *Cannon*, and there is also a small *Chapel*, built in the Fashion of the Savages, at the Foot of which there are so many *Muscles* as to be wonderful, which may be gathered at low Water, but they are small . . . During the said Voyage the *Sieur De Monts* worked at his Fort, which he had seated at the End of the Island, opposite to the place where we have said he lodged his Cannon; which was prudently considered, to the End to command the *River* up and down. But there was one Inconvenience, that the said Fort was on the Side to the North without any Shelter, except the Trees which were on the Bank of the Island, all of which thereabout he had forbid to be cut down. Without the Fort the Swiss had their Barracks, which were large and ample, and some small ones making an Appearance like a Suburb. Some had their Huts on the main Land, near a Stream, but within the Fort were the Lodgings of the said *Sieur De Monts*, made of fair and skilful Carpentry, with the Banner of France on the Top. In another part was the Magazine, where was deposited the Safety and Life of All, also of good Carpentry, and covered with Shingles, and opposite to the Magazine were the Lodgings and Houses of the *Sieur d'Orville*, *Champlain*, *Champdore*, and other Persons of Distinction. Opposite to the Lodgings of the said *Sieur de Monts* was a covered Gallery to exercise for Amusement or for the Workmen when it rained, and between the said Fort and the Platform of the Cannon all was filled with *Gardens* . . . The severe Season being passed, the *Sieur De Monts*, tired of his sorrowful Abode of *Sainte Croix*, determined to search for another Port, in a Country more warm and more to the south . . . having seen the Coast of *Malebarre*, and with much Labour, without

finding what he desired, he determined to go to Port Royal, to make his Stay there, and wait until he should have the Means to make a more ample Discovery; so every one was employed to bind up his Pack, and they demolished what they had built with Infinity of Labour &c. &c. &c." —

Subsequent to the View of the Mouths of the Rivers in question, and the adjacent Objects, by the Commissioners, at the Instance of the Agents, in the Fall of 1796, the Edition of *Champlain* of 1613 was procured from Europe, containing a Map of the *Isle Sainte Croix*, a Copy of which is annexed; and a Search having been then made, by digging into the Soil of *Bone* or *Docias* Island, Bricks, Charcoal, Spikes, and other Artificial Articles, have been found, and evident Foundations of Buildings have been traced.

Whoever will compare these Proofs with the Bay of Passamaquaddy, including the Islands and Rivers in it, will perceive, that they result in *Demonstration* that the *Island S^t Croix* and the *River S^t Croix*, intended in them, are respectively *Bone Island* and the *River Scudiac*; the Mouth of the River being imagined to be at some place *below* the Island, notwithstanding the Space between it and the *Devil's Head* is, as has been intimated, more properly an Arm of the Bay, or as L'escarbot expresses himself, *Sea*.

And here it would seem there might have been an End of the *Question*; but the Agent on the part of the United States alledged, "that Mitchell's Map, published in 1755, was before the Commissioners, who negociated and concluded the provisional Treaty of Peace at Paris in 1782; from that they took their Ideas of the Country; upon that they marked the dividing Line between the two Nations; and that by the Line marked upon it their Intention is well explained that the River, intended by the Name of the *S^t Croix* in the Treaty, was the eastern River which emptys it's Waters into the Bay of Passamaquaddy;" and he thereupon offered in Evidence the Testimony of the three American Commissioners, as contained in the Depositions of two of them, and in the Letter from the other to M^r Sec^y Jefferson of the 8th April 1790, and also a Map of Mitchell as the *identical* Copy which the Commissioners had before them at Paris, it having been found deposited in the Office of Secretary of State for the United States, and having the Eastern Boundary of the United States *traced* on it, with a *Pen* or *Pencil*, through the Middle of the River, laid down as the *S^t Croix*, to a Lake, laid down as its Source and named *Kousaki*, and continued thence north as far as to where it was conjectured it would come to the *Highlands*.

The Agent on the part of His Majesty excepted to these Proofs on the Ground that the Matters, intended to be proved by them, were not admissable in Evidence; he nevertheless consented to their being

received, the Question on the Exception being understood to be reserved for the future Opinion of the Commissioners, if necessary.

Deposition of President Adams — In answer to Interrogatories by the Agent on the part of the United States he deposed, "that Mitchell's Map was the only Map or Plan which was used by the Commissioners at their public Conferences, tho' other Maps were occasionally consulted by the American Commissioners at their Lodgings; the British Commissioners at first claimed to Piscataqua River, then to Kennebeck, then to Penobscot, and at length agreed to S^t Croix as marked on Mitchell's Map — one of the American Ministers at first proposed the River S^t Johns as marked on Mitchell's Map, but his Colleagues observing, that as Saint Croix was the River mentioned in the Charter of Massachusetts's Bay they could not justify insisting on Saint Johns as an Ultimatum, he agreed with them to adhere to the Charter of Massachusetts's Bay" — but in Answer to the following Interrogatory by the Commissioners, for the Sake of *Explanation*, "Whether it was understood, intended, or agreed, between the British and American Commissioners that the River Saint Croix, as marked on Mitchell's Map should so be the Boundary as to preclude all Enquiry respecting any Error or Mistake in the said Map in designating the River Saint Croix; or whether there was any, and if so what, Understanding, Intent, or Agreement between the Commissioners relative to the Case of Error or Mistake in this respect in the said Map?" — he further deposed, "that the Case of such supposed Error or Mistake was not suggested, and consequently there was no Understanding, Intent, or Agreement expressed respecting it."

Gov^t Jay's Deposition — he deposed, "that in the Course of the Negotiations Difficulties arose respecting the eastern Boundary of the United States; Mitchell's Map was before them and frequently consulted for Geographical Information. In settling the Boundary Lines (described in the Treaty), and of which the River S^t Croix forms a part, it became a Question which of the Rivers in those parts was the *true* River S^t Croix?, it being said that several of them had that Name; that they did finally agree that the River S^t Croix, laid down in Mitchell's Map, was the River S^t Croix which ought to form a part of the said Boundary Line; but whether that River was so decidedly and permanently adopted and agreed upon by the Parties as conclusively to bind the two Nations to that Limit, even in Case it should afterwards appear that Mitchell had been mistaken and that the true River S^t Croix was a different one from that which is delineated by that Name in his Map, is a Question, or a Case, which he did not recollect nor believe was then put or talked of; for his own part he was of Opinion, that the eastern Boundaries of the United States ought, on Principles of Right and Justice, to be the same with the easterly Boundaries of the late Colony or Province of Massachusetts."

D^r Franklin's Letter — "I received Your Letter of the 21st past, relating to the Encroachments made on the eastern Limits of the United States, by Settlers, under the British Government, pretending that it is the western, and not the eastern, River, of the Bay of Passamaquaddy, which was designated by the Name of S^t Croix, in the Treaty of Peace with that Nation, and requesting Me to communicate any Facts, which my Memory or Papers may enable Me to recollect, and which may indicate the true River the Commissioners had in View to establish as the Boundary between the two Nations; I can assure You I am perfectly clear in the Remembrance, that the Map we used, in tracing the Boundary between the two Nations, was brought to the Treaty by the Commissioners from England, and that it was the same that was published by Mitchell above twenty Years before. That the Map we used was Mitchell's Map, Congress were acquainted at the time, by a Letter to their Secretary for foreign Affairs which I suppose may be found on their Files."

A Copy of Mitchell's Map is annexed, and the Copy, produced in Evidence, had on it the above mentioned Line traced with a *Pen* or *Pencil*, as stated by the Agent for the United States.

On these Proofs, waiving the Exception to them, it will suffice to remark, — that a Boundary Line, which Mitchell has in his Map, is the only Indication of the River he intended by the S^t Croix; his Intent or *Mind* in this respect not being to be discovered from the relative Situation of the River, or of the Lake laid down as its Source or from the Course or Length of the River, or the Form or Magnitude of the Lake, or indeed from the supposed Representations, as they appear on the Map, of any Objects whatever, the Map being, as to the Bay of Passamaquaddy and the Rivers issuing into it, and which will be manifest by comparing it with the one annexed from actual Survey, erroneous or imperfect in the Extreme — that the Boundary Line above alluded to is a *pricked* Line drawn along the western side of the River S^t Croix to the Lake as its Source, and thence round along the southerly and westerly Sides, and so far along the northerly Side, of the Lake, until it comes to the most northerly part of it, and then it is "DIRECT towards the north" to the River S^t Barnabas, being "*the nearest RIVER discharging itself into the great River of Canada*;" — that this Line was certainly intended to represent what was deemed, at the time, to be the Boundary of Nova Scotia from the Mouth of the S^t Croix to the S^t Lawrence — and therefore that the Map, and the other Proofs connected with it, instead of being of any Avail to the Party exhibiting them, are in Confirmation of the very Principle of the Claim of the opposite Party, namely, that the River intended in the Treaty of 1783 is the River intended in the Grant for Nova Scotia; the Reasoning from them being briefly, that the Commissioners at Paris intended the

River intended by Mitchell, and that he intended the River intended in the Grant for Nova Scotia.

The Proposition of *Fact* above stated being thus proved, the Commissioners, on the 25th Octo^r 1798, decided that the *Scudiac* was the River truly intended under the Name of the River *S^t Croix* in the Treaty of 1783; and it being expressed in the Treaty of 1794, "that the *Declaration* of the Decision should contain a Description of the River, and particularize the Latitude and Longitude of its Mouth and its Source," they were held, in addition to the principal Question, Which was the River, as to be distinguished from the *Magaguadavic* and every other River?, to decide likewise which of the Branches was the *main* Branch and as such the River or *Trunk*, and where its Source should be deemed to be; it is therefore to be further stated — that when the River was assumed, as a Boundary in the Grant for Nova Scotia, there was no Knowledge of it, at least from the Falls in it upwards, except what had been communicated to the French Colonists by the aboriginal Indians, as found in the above Extract from Champlain, and which amounts to no more, than that there were Portages from it to the Norembeque, supposed to be the Penobscot, and to the *S^t John*, and doubtless understood to be, the one from the western, and the other from the northern, Branch — that, previous to the Occasion of the present Reference, there never has been a Survey of the River, that the adjacent Country still remains unsettled and almost unfrequented, and consequently that the Case was wholly destitute of the Evidence of the Intention of *Parties*, and also of such as might have arisen from *Reputation* by others, to govern or aid in determining either the place of the Source of the River or which of the two Branches was the *main* Branch — that these Branches are nearly of the same Magnitude and Rapidity at their Confluence — that the Head-waters of them are a Collection of Lakes, a number of them, in some Instances more and in others less, forming a *Series* connected together by *Streights* from the one to the other, and — that hence the Difficulties may easily be conceived which occurred in deciding between the Branches, and where the Source of the Branch which might be decided to be the *main* Branch, should be deemed to be; and especially whether at the *first*, or at the most *remote*, Lake in a *Series* — The latter was the Rule adopted by the Commissioners — They decided that the *Mouth* of the River was at *Ive's Point*; that the *Northern* Branch was the *main* Branch or *River*, and continuing it through the several *Lakes* and the *Streights* connecting them in a *Series*, which extended to the *greatest Distance*, that its *Source* was at a Place for that purpose particularized in the *Declaration* as the *Source* of a *Stream* issuing into the most *remote* Lake.

There is still a Question concerning the Boundary between the two

Nations in that Quarter, but as it partakes of the Nature of an *omitted Case*, in respect to the *Reference* under the Treaty of 1794, can be settled only by Negotiation and Compact.

The Treaty of 1783 supposes the River St Croix to issue *immediately* into the Bay of Fundy, and it intended that the two Nations should equally *participate* in the *Navigation* of the River; the Question then is, How is the Boundary in the intermediate Space between where the Mouth of the St Croix hath been decided to be and the Bay of Fundy, to be established most consistent with the Intent of the Treaty? — In answer to which it may be suggested, that the Boundary should be a Line from the Mouth of the River, passing through the Bay of Passamaquaddy and one of the *Passages* from it into the Bay of Fundy, that the west Passage being unfit for the purpose, having a Bar across it which is dry at low water, the next to it must be taken, and the Line may be described, *Beginning in the Middle of the Channel of the River St Croix at its Mouth, thence direct to the Middle of the Channel between Point Pleasant and Deer, thence through the Middle of the Channel between Deer Island on the East and North, and Moose Island and Campobello Island on the west and south, and round the eastern Point of Campobello Island to the Bay of Fundy.*

The Commissioners were Thomas Barclay of the Province of Nova Scotia, David Howell of the State of Rhode Island and Egbert Benson of the State of New York.

The foregoing was prepared and one Copy furnished to the President of the United States and another to the American Minister in London, and this remaining Copy is presented to The Massachusetts Historical Society; because, if it is to be preserved, it can no where be so eligibly deposited as in their Collection.

E. B.

Mr. WINSOR further said that in some investigations which he had recently made respecting the maps used in determining questions arising under the interpretation of the language employed in the Treaty of 1783 respecting the bounds of Maine, he had hit upon the evidence, never before satisfactorily determined, that the famous red line on the map discovered by Sparks was the equivalent of such lines which long antedated the Treaty of 1783. This was indeed divined by Senator Benton and others during the debates upon the Ashburton Treaty, but it was not established by evidence. Long before the conclusion of the negotiations the United States Government had selected from the maps in Harvard College Library such as were considered of use in the discussion; and these

identical maps, marked as numbered in Gallatin's lists, are now in the College Library. The bugbear of the Red-line map not having then arisen, the maps in the same collection which would have quieted the apprehensions of Sparks and Webster were naturally overlooked. It may be recalled that Mr. Sparks discovered in the French Archives, in 1841, a note from Franklin to Vergennes, which referred to a map, sent to that minister, upon which Franklin had marked with a strong red line the bounds which had been agreed upon under the provisional articles. With the expectation of finding this map, Sparks turned to the map collection of the same archives, and discovered a small map by D'Anville, dated 1746, on which, in following the bounds of the revolted Colonies, there was a line of red pigment which kept the highlands across Maine south of the St. John nearly as the British claimed that it should run, but having a direction rather more favorable to the British than their claim. At a little later day the British Government sent an agent to the Paris Archives to find the map which Sparks described, and Brougham in his speech in Parliament at the time says Lord Granville's agent failed to find it; but according to Mr. Lewis J. Jennings, in his "Correspondence of John Wilson Croker" (London, 1884, vol. i. pp. 395, 400, 403), another map was found with a similar red line which favored the American claim.¹ At the time of the finding of the map favoring the American claim, the season had passed in which it was of use to declare that this last map was the true Franklin map; and in the absence of any knowledge of it, Mr. Sparks came to the belief that his red-line map might well be, or at least might possibly be, the one referred to by Franklin. He brought home a copy of it, and sent it with a letter to Mr. Webster (Webster's Works, vol. ii. p. 143; Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. viii. p. 96) suggesting its importance. It was alleged in the secret debates of the Senate upon the ratification of the treaty (Benton's Debates, vol. xiv. p. 546, etc.), that Mr. Webster had used this map to force the consent of the Commissioners of Maine to the treaty, and had held it up to Senators as dangerous evidence in case a new negotiation should become necessary by the failure of the present. It is curious

¹ Sir Robert Peel is credited with acknowledging that the agent did eventually find the Sparks map (N. Y. Hist. Soc. Proc. 1843, p. 71).

to observe that Webster, after he had got the letter and map from Sparks, wrote to Mr. Everett, then our minister in England, and without letting him into the secret, cautioned him "against pressing the search after maps in England and elsewhere," plainly out of fear that the Sparks map might be re-discovered (Curtis's Webster, vol. ii. p. 103). Senator Benton and others who opposed the treaty in the Senate debates, explained away the Sparks map by assuming that the line belonged to the date of the map (1746) and not to the date of the treaty (1782), and that it represented an old French claim for the bounds of Canada upon Maine and Sagadahock. They brought no evidence to determine this beyond that of a map later than the treaty, which had a similar colored line, while a pricked uncolored line on the same map accorded with the American claim in following the highlands north of the St. John. That this uncolored line did not prove an offset to the colored line was owing to the absence of any legend explaining the lines. Accordingly the Sparks map has not ceased to be put forward in discussions of the subject even to a very recent day. The usual argument against its evidence has been simply that it could not be the map referred to by Franklin, because all other testimony respecting the line entertained by the American Commissioners, and even by the English Commissioners, was not in accord. This seems evident from the fact that the claim as formulated by the British was not fairly presented till some time had passed, namely, in 1815; but it is at the same time a striking concomitant that when it was first brought forward, Adams and Jay were both living, and so far as any record now exists failed to make any protest against it.

In Canada it has been almost universally held, by writers on the Ashburton Treaty, that the concessions made by England were a surrender. This is seen in such essays as Coffin's "Quirks of Diplomacy," and Dent's "Last Forty Years of Canada;" but Sir Francis Hincks, in a tract which he published at Montreal in 1885, on "The Boundaries formerly in Dispute between Great Britain and the United States," apologetically defended the American claim, and disposed of the Sparks map as simply a deceit practised by Franklin upon Vergennes.

What Senator Benton divined was in reality the case, though

Sparks, in an article on the Treaty of Washington, which he printed in the "North American Review" in April, 1843, undertook to say that the line of the so-called Franklin map had "no connection whatever with any old boundary of Canada." But Sparks was mistaken. The maps for a long period before the Treaty of 1782-1783 had had two lines of demarcation across the present State of Maine, according as they represented French claims or showed those of England. The English maps without exception gave the bounds of Massachusetts Bay north of the St. John; and it was this line, according to the understanding of the American Commissioners at least, that they were to engraft in the Treaty of 1782. This is undeniably the line given in all the maps published in England during the progress of the Treaty of 1782-1783, as shown in those of Sayer and Bennet, Bew, Willis, and Cary, not to name very many others. The French maps gave a line south of the St. John valley, varying more or less from time to time, but throwing into Canada all north of the English settlements, even if they did not include these settlements wholly or in part. The direction of the line as given in the small D'Anville map, found by Sparks, was just one of these French claims; and we have the history of it in certain maps, beginning with the larger D'Anville map of the same year as the small D'Anville map (1746) which Sparks found, and of this larger map Sparks seems to have had no knowledge. On this larger map the line across Maine is given in a dotted line, which carries it back to the date of the engraving of the map itself.

The same dotted line is repeated in a Venice edition of D'Anville published in 1776. We find it again in a revised edition of Delisle's Canada, published in Paris in 1783, and once more in 1784 in a French map, which Benton cited in the debates of the Senate upon the Treaty of 1842, and which bore upon it a dedication to Franklin himself, and professed to emanate from the Government map-office and to show the lines of the treaty then newly made. There is need of looking at these French maps with a good deal of scrutiny, and with a full recognition of the spirit which was animating Vergennes at this time. It must be observed that this French map of 1784 gives by a dotted engraved line the bounds along the highlands as claimed by the Americans, while the bounds

as claimed later by the British are marked by a line of pigment.¹ When we bear in mind the unconcealed purpose of the French Court to curtail wherever they could the bounds of the new republic, and particularly to flank it effectively on the side of Canada, we need not be at a loss to understand the cartographical devices of so wily a diplomatist as Vergennes in an attempt to resuscitate an old French line as being that which had been decided upon. The fact is that this French minister was the real instigator of the British claim, having an ulterior purpose, and acting in anticipation of the time when France might repossess Canada; and the further fact is that the Red-line map which threw such consternation into the councils of Webster in 1842 was but the expression of this same ulterior and sinister purpose of Vergennes. Precisely what this old French line was, can now be demonstrated, though the evidence seems hitherto to have escaped notice. There was issued in Paris in 1755 a "*Carte des possessions Angloises et Françaises*," which had alternative lines as marking the French claims to the lands of Maine. One of these lines gave to Canada all east of the Penobscot stretching to the St. Lawrence, but it followed west of the Penobscot mainly the height of land in which that river and the Kennebec found their sources. The other claim continued this highland line in an easterly direction, till it struck the gulf of St. Lawrence at Baye Verte, thus cutting off the southern English settlements in Maine and according substantially with the line later claimed by the British. Both of these alternative lines were marked on this map of 1755. The plate of this map four years later (1759) was transferred to London, and the map was there reissued as "*A Map of the British and French Dominion in North America*," by J. Palairer, improved by J. Rocque." This edition of the map has an engraved legend, reading as follows: "The red line drawn from Lake Ontario to Baye Verte shows another claim of the French north of the English Settlements, to the River St. Lawrence." Here we have the explanation of the line which in the maps of the French before the Peace of 1782 preserved an old claim, and in their maps after 1782 was used to give grounds for the curtailment of the American bounds, and

¹ Sparks likewise cites a copy of Mitchell's map which had belonged to Baron Steuben, on which a painted boundary line was equally favorable to the English claim.

was so readily adopted by the English geographer Faden in 1785, after he had already in 1783 published a map favoring the American claim, and equally deceived Gössefeld in 1784 in a map which he published at Nuremberg. More honest maps, both French and German, like Tardieu's in Paris and Reichard's in Nuremberg, continued, however, to favor the American claim. This map of the French royal geographer in 1784, copied by the English royal geographer in 1785, represents the hint given by Vergennes to England for a curtailment of the new republic in a part of the described bounds, which could be diversely interpreted, and the English official acceptance of the hint. Events which turned the attention of the English Government away from the question of bounds caused the seed which Vergennes had sown to lie without germination till the experience of the War of 1812 made it for the interest of England to formulate their claim for the lower highlands.

There are indications going to show that thirty years ago there was in existence a map which was described as one in which Franklin, jointly with Hartley, the English negotiator of the Definitive Treaty, had marked the bounds as agreed upon. A catalogue of a sale of manuscripts in London April 6, 1859, embraced papers which seemingly came from the estate of David Hartley, and disclosed a large number of papers respecting the Treaty of 1783, arranged by Hartley, and included such a map as has been mentioned. Though the date of the sale is so recent, I have not been able to find the final disposition of the map, nor does the sale of it seem to have been within the cognizance of the three or four people most likely to have known of it. I do not find that the London Athenæum records any such sale. It would seem from the "Index" of the MSS. in the British Museum, published in 1880, that the correspondence, in part at least, of Franklin and Hartley at this sale passed into that library (pp. 586, 697, no. 23206, fol. 77; no. 24321, fol. 4); and certain of the copies of the Hartley papers on the negotiation probably fell into the hands of Joseph Sabin, as Mr. John Bigelow informs me that Mr. Sabin at one time possessed such a collection of copies.¹

¹ Mr. Winsor has since received a letter from General Charles B. Norton (Boston, Oct. 30, 1887) in which he says: "I purchased the Hartley papers at the

The catalogue defines this map as follows:—

No. 83. "The original map of the United States of America, sketched by Benjamin Franklin and H. B. M. plenipotentiary David Hartley, in Paris, in 1783. This most important document possesses historical and national interest, and marks the agreed boundaries and proposed western States."

If we are left in ignorance of this map with its joint attestation, there is a map of the highest authority which does exist and which supports the American claim. This is a Mitchell map of 1755 (known to have been the one used by the Commissioners of the treaty, as acknowledged on both sides) which has in several places written along the line, in the handwriting (as asserted by Brougham) of George III., the words "Boundary as described by Mr. Oswald." That it was not a line drawn by Oswald in the early part of the negotiations and rejected by the English Government (as shown in the map in Fitzmaurice's "Life of Shelborne," vol. iii. p. 294), appears from the fact that this map, differing from the map found among Jay's papers, includes the rectifications made by Strachey after he was sent over by the British Government to strengthen Oswald's hands. If this is not sufficient to establish this "Oswald line" as the line of the Definitive Treaty, it is easy to show that Strachey and Oswald agreed upon the line to be run in the upper part of Maine. It may be observed, in passing, that Mr. Webster, in writing to Mr. Everett (April 25, 1843) after the close of the Treaty of 1842, was so ill-informed regarding this map that he speaks of it and of the Jay map as showing bounds precisely identical; and that Mr. Curtis in his "Life of Webster" (vol. ii. p. 168) has allowed the statement to pass without comment.

Now, this map in the American interests, as attested by their most inveterate opponent, the King himself, was among

sale in 1859. I offered the collection to the State Department in 1860, and a bill was offered in Congress for their purchase. At that time I struck off a circular of four pages, giving an analysis of their contents, which was sent to all historical societies and libraries. The papers were in a black walnut case, and the map with them. Long articles appeared in the 'Tribune' and the 'Post' at the time. During my absence with the army the collection was sold to a Mr. Hartley of the Treasury Department. He has since died; and at the sale of his library the papers were doubtless purchased by Joseph Sabin, of New York." Mrs. Martha T. Lamb further states, in a private letter, that the Hartley collection was finally sold in New York for \$350 to Mr. E. G. Asay, of Chicago.

that monarch's maps turned over to the British Museum at his death; but before the negotiations began in 1842, it had been withdrawn from that place of public access and assigned to the seclusion of the Foreign Office in London, if we may believe Lord Brougham's asseverations in Parliament. If we may believe similar evidence, it was known to Featherstonhaugh when he was sent over in 1838-1839 to work up the British theory of the lower line of the highlands below the St. John, but as if not to weaken the spirit of Ashburton, he was sent to America, as he acknowledges in a letter to Webster at a later date (Curtis's Webster, vol. ii. p. 168), without being let into the secret of it,¹ and did not know of it till the exigencies of securing an approval of the treaty in Parliament against its assailants induced Sir Robert Peel to bring the map forward and use it in the same way that Webster was charged with using the Sparks map in the secret sessions of the American Senate. We learn this from Brougham's speech (published in London, 1843). We also know that Lord Aberdeen subsequently gave Edward Everett, then our minister, a view of it, as his despatch of March 31, 1843, shows. Everett, in his oration at the dedication of the Webster statue in Boston, says that Peel and Aberdeen told him that they were in ignorance of this Oswald map till after the treaty was signed. This want of knowledge was at best a convenient one; for the ministry of Lord Melbourne had, as Brougham tells us, certainly known of it, and it is difficult to believe that the traditions of the Foreign Office were not preserved among the subordinates of the ministry, if it was by them adroitly kept from the heads of the government.

As if to perplex the matter beyond endurance, a map in 1841, said to be a Mitchell map of 1755, was found by Mr. Lemon in the Record Office in London, which showed a red line—this time professedly faint—which was run in accordance with the British claim. An attempt was made at the time to connect it with Oswald; but the map of King George III., already referred to, gave it little chance of commending itself to the attention of anybody, and Fitzmaurice (Shelburne, vol. iii. p. 324) says there was no proof deduced.

¹ His Government did, however, take care to supply him with a copy of the Faden map of 1785, which supported their claim.

Dr. EVERETT read passages from the oration alluded to, at the dedication of the statue of Daniel Webster, 21 Sept., 1859, in which, among other points bearing on Mr. Winsor's paper, the author expresses his belief that the "Oswald map" was known to Featherstonhaugh, who was a man of very questionable veracity.

Dr. CHANNING communicated the following letter:—

*Benjamin Frobisher to Dr. Mabane, Quebec.*¹

MONTREAL 19th April 1784.

SIR,— When you was at Montreal your time was so much employed in matters of Public Concern, that I had not the opportunity I wished for to enquire your sentiments on the Ambiguous sence of the late Treaty of Peace, respecting the line of Boundary between this Province & the United States, from Lake Superior to the westward; with regard to which I must remark, that there is no such Thing as a *Long Lake*, as expressed in the Treaty, the only Communication from Lake Superior, is by that tract of Land known by the name of the Grand portage, which leads to a very small river on the west side, that derives its source from an adjacent Lake, and from thence to the extent of Lake Lepluie about One Hundred leagues, it is not as described a *Long Lake*, but is rather a Chain of Lakes, few of which have any visible Inlet or Communication with each other, which occasions in that short distance upwards of Forty Carrying places; so that we are at a loss to know from the Tenor of the Treaty where the line is intended to be drawn, and anxiously wish to be informed about it, that we may not without previous notice, and sufficient time given to withdraw our property, be deprived of the only Communication from this Province to the North West, indeed for my own part, I apprehend a survey of the Carrying Place, and the Country adjacent will be highly necessary to ascertain, & fix unalterably, the Line in that Quarter, while on the other hand it will give us Time to discover another passage if such a Thing Exists, whereby we may in all Events leave that Branch of the Fur trade to the Province.

Judge CHAMBERLAIN said he desired to place on record, in the Proceedings of the Society, a perfectly well-authenticated case of extreme longevity in Massachusetts,—that of Mrs. Elizabeth Merriam Putnam, widow of Colonel Jesse Putnam, late of Danvers, and daughter of Dr. Silas Merriam, of

¹ Canadian Archives, series B, vol. lxxv. p. 75.

Middleton. She was born in that town Nov. 14, 1784, and died at Danvers Sept. 20, 1887, at the age of one hundred and two years ten months and six days. In 1804 she married Jesse Putnam, a son of Deacon Joseph Putnam, who was a grandson of Lieutenant David, brother of General Israel Putnam. Mrs. Putnam was the mother of twelve children, and ever after her marriage lived in the house in which she died.

He also presented two communications from Charles J. Hoadly, Esq., of Hartford, Connecticut, intended to supplement a paper on the "Authentication of the Declaration of Independence," prepared by Judge Chamberlain, and printed in the Proceedings of the Society for November, 1884. In addition to the names given in that paper of those who were not present in Congress July 4, 1776, though so represented by the printed journal of that date, Mr. Hoadly mentions William Williams and Oliver Wolcott,—the former not then even a member of Congress, though he was not long after, and probably added his name to that instrument at the general signing of the Declaration, August 2. Wolcott was absent from Congress from the latter part of June till Oct. 1, 1776, and must have affixed his signature after the latter date. He may have signed, November 4, with Thornton of New Hampshire, whose signature immediately follows Wolcott's on the original document. Mr. Hoadly also gives some interesting facts respecting the delay on the part of the Council of Safety and of the General Assembly of Connecticut officially to proclaim the Declaration.

Mr. Hoadly's second paper states a fact not generally known, and now for the first time, perhaps, seen in print,—that some portions of the journals of the Continental Congress were published in a fuller form than we now have them in the editions published in thirteen volumes. Agreeably to the motion of Mr. Drayton, March 31, 1779, there was a *weekly* publication of the journals from that date—and of monthly journals perhaps earlier, as Drayton's order was retrospective to January 1—to July 12 or even later; Mr. Hoadly giving those dates from copies either in his own collection or in the New York State Library. The extracts from these journals given by Mr. Hoadly are of considerable importance, and show very clearly that accuracy, completeness, and convenience

require that a new edition of the Journals of the old Congress should be prepared and printed.

Judge Chamberlain also called attention to two publications recently placed on the table of the Society, and both of more than common interest. The first is a new edition of the Massachusetts Colonial Laws, in the Revision of 1672, with supplements through 1686; and the second, Professor Johnston's History of Connecticut, in the "American Commonwealth" Series. The laws published under the editorial supervision of William H. Whitmore, Esq., one of the Record Commissioners, Judge Chamberlain said were of special value, — greater, perhaps, than that of any other of the series previously published. It is true, he said, that the Revision of 1672 is occasionally to be seen; but it is seen so rarely, and is of such cost, that even special students who find it necessary for their purposes can only consult it in some library where it is jealously guarded, as such treasures ought to be. But now that the volume is made easily accessible, and may form part of private libraries, he had no doubt that it would stimulate, and go very far to answer, inquiry on a great many subjects of historical interest, hitherto treated very vaguely, if at all, through lack of knowledge, or because their proper treatment was incompatible with the limits of a general history of the State. The restoration of the Old State House had revived its history in the minds of the present generation. One of the most remarkable incidents which ever took place within its walls was James Otis's argument in 1761 on Writs of Assistance. John Adams said of the place and the occasion, "Then and there Independence was born;" and in 1818, when he was an old man, — eighty-three years old, — he wrote a letter to William Tudor, describing the scene and the actors, in terms graphic, close to the facts, and with an imaginative power which made the page one of the best in our literature. But nowhere in Otis's splendid argument, nor in Gridley's, where it might more properly be looked for, is there any allusion to the fact, either as authority or as illustration, that the General Court of Massachusetts had passed laws (see pp. 68, 119, 126) which went far beyond the Acts of 14 Car. 2 and 7 & 8 Wm. & Mary, which were supposed to give validity to Writs of Assistance in the Colonies, which were so grievous to our ancestors a hundred years later. These statutes seem to have escaped the

notice of Hutchinson, and even of the learned writer of the note on Paxton's case in Quincy's Reports. The republication of the Revision of 1672 brings them to light; and if they had little or no bearing upon the purely legal question before the court in 1761, their political significance was very considerable.

Judge Chamberlain said he could allude to a few only of the numerous and (to him) new facts brought to light in the volume. Who supposed, for instance, that the trial of revenue cases in Admiralty without a jury, which, when enacted by Parliament for the Colonies, caused so much dissatisfaction, was in substance the Massachusetts law of 1674 found on page 213? Many people who have wondered why a juryman should be the only man on the planet who can commit perjury with legal impunity, are not aware that it was ever otherwise in Massachusetts. Some instructive reading on that point, in addition to the *Attaint of Juries* at common law, may be found on page 202. Everybody knows that invasions of the king's prerogatives — such as the creation of corporations and the coining of money — were among the causes which led to the revocation of the charter in 1684; but it will be new to many that the Colonists apparently claimed the right to grant and annul patents.

But there is no end, Judge Chamberlain said, to the interesting questions raised by this volume; and for one, he was glad to see that the City Council had authorized the printing of the earlier Revision of 1660, and that it would appear in due time under the same able editorial supervision as that of the present volume.

In respect to Professor Johnston's History of Connecticut, Judge Chamberlain said that it would be likely to provoke controversy. He had read it with attention, and found it, as he had found everything from the same pen, able, candid, and instructive; but he doubted whether some of his views would be accepted, — especially his claim that while "in Massachusetts, after the real beginning of government, the town was subordinate to the colony, . . . in Connecticut, on the other hand, it was the town that created the Commonwealth, . . . and that the town is the residuary legatee of political power;" — in other words (for such seems to be the statement), that the sovereign towns of Connecticut delegated certain powers to the

State Government, reserving to themselves all other powers ; and "that it is the State which is called upon to make out a clear case for powers to which it lays claim ; and that the towns have a *prima facie* case in their favor whenever a doubt arises." The doctrine of State sovereignty is as old as the Revolutionary War ; but, according to Professor Johnston, "town sovereignty" was established in Connecticut a hundred and forty years earlier, and has some sort of recognition in that Commonwealth even at the present day ; and more than this, — in the Connecticut system we may trace the "life principle of the American Union." This account of the genesis of Connecticut, and of the United States Constitution, is certainly interesting.

Mr. Hoadly's Communication respecting the Declaration of Independence.

The resolve of the General Assembly of Connecticut appointing delegates to Congress for the year beginning Jan. 1, 1776, which was passed at the October session, 1775, provided that Roger Sherman, Oliver Wolcott, and Samuel Huntington, Esqrs., should attend said Congress, and on the failure of either of the said gentlemen by sickness or otherwise, then that Titus Hosmer or William Williams, Esqrs., should supply the place or places of any or either of the said three gentlemen first named, in such manner that three of said delegates, and three only, do attend said Congress at any one time ; and the said three delegates, or any or either of them, who should be present in said Congress, were fully authorized and empowered to represent the Colony in said Congress.

At a special session of the General Assembly of Connecticut, held at Hartford June 14-21, but upon what precise day of the session I am not able to say, because the Journals of either House are lost, it was —

"Resolved unanimously by this Assembly, that the delegates of this Colony in General Congress be and they are hereby instructed to propose to that respectable body, to declare the United American Colonies Free and Independent States, absolved from all allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and to give the assent of this Colony to such declaration when they shall judge it expedient and best."

This is very nearly in the language of the resolve of the Virginia Convention, May 15, 1776, which had been communicated to the other Colonies by order of that Convention.

In determining questions in the old Congress each Colony or Province had one vote, the delegates of each deciding how that vote should

be cast. One of the Connecticut delegation, Roger Sherman, had been appointed a member of the committee of five to prepare the Declaration; and as the sentiments of his colleagues were in harmony with the instructions of their constituents, the General Assembly, it was not absolutely necessary for the delegation to be full in order to give the vote of Connecticut in favor of independence.

There were four signers on the part of Connecticut to the Declaration of Independence, — one more than our limited delegation. The names of these gentlemen, in the order of their signature, are Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, and Oliver Wolcott. William Williams and Oliver Wolcott were not present in Congress on July 4, 1776, when the Declaration was adopted.

Each colony paid its own delegation. Oliver Wolcott in his account charges for attending Congress from Jan. 4 to July 4, 1776, inclusive, 182 days; and from Sept. 24, 1776, to May 12, 1777, inclusive, 231 days. These dates are, respectively, those on which he set out from and returned home. The Journal of Congress as well as a letter from Silas Deane, whom he succeeded, both show that he did not take his seat in Congress until Tuesday, Jan. 16, 1776. In a letter to his brother-in-law, Deputy-Governor Matthew Griswold, dated New York, July 1, 1776, Oliver Wolcott writes "I am on my way home for the recovery of my health and to see my family; for three weeks past have been much unwell, owing, I suppose, to a too long confined way of living." He must have left Philadelphia about the last of June, 1776.

It appears, then, that Oliver Wolcott was not present when the Declaration of Independence was adopted, nor at the general signing of it on August 2, 1776. His name must have been affixed to that instrument at some time after Oct. 1, 1776, on which day he arrived at Philadelphia to attend Congress for the second time.

In the Journal of the Connecticut Council of Safety is this entry, under date of July 11, 1776: —

"Col. Oliver Wolcott having lately returned home from the continental congress by reason of ill health, and it is the opinion of this board, that it is of importance that the Colony should have a full representation at congress, and that it is also the opinion of the Assembly that their full number of delegates should be present, &c., and by a letter from Col. Wolcott, expressing also his desire that another member should attend, &c.: This Board, having at turns discoursed on the subject at several days and times, do conclude and advise, that William Williams, Esqr., do, as soon as may be, repair to and attend said congress as one of the delegates appointed by the General Assembly, Mr. Hosmer and he having discoursed and partly agreed on which should attend, &c."

William Williams charged for attending Congress from July 22 to Nov. 21, 1776, 123 days. These are the dates of his setting out from home and of his return again; for on July 22 he was in Hartford, on his way to Philadelphia, and gave a receipt to the Treasurer of the Colony for money advanced. November 21, he was again in Hartford and attended a meeting of the Council of Safety. He was in Congress on the second day of August, 1776, when the Declaration was signed by all the members then present, several of whom, besides himself, had not been members on the 4th of July preceding.

That independence would be declared was very generally expected. Ebenezer Hazard wrote to General Gates from New York, July 5, that the night before it was reported in that city that Congress had determined on a declaration of independence, and that the vote was unanimous, except New York.

On July 11, 1776, William Williams, then clerk of the Council of Safety, makes this entry on their Journal, "Congress Declaration of Independency received in a letter from Col. Trumbull to me." This must have been his brother-in-law, Joseph Trumbull, and not John, as Mr. Stuart says: the former was then in New York, the latter at Ticonderoga or thereabout. On the next day, July 12, the Journal says: "Letters from the Congress of 6th inst. came in (by express), containing information of their late Declaration of Independence and a copy of it, requesting the same to be duly published, &c."

The following is a copy of the letter:—

PHILADELPHIA, July 6, 1776.

SIR,—Although it is not possible to foresee the consequences of human actions, yet it is nevertheless a duty we owe ourselves and posterity, in all our public councils, to decide in the best manner we are able, and to trust the event to that Being who controls both causes and events so as to bring about his own determinations.

Impressed with this sentiment, and at the same time fully convinced that our affairs may take a more favourable turn, the Congress have judged it necessary to dissolve all connexion between Great Britain and the American Colonies, and to declare them free and independent states, as you will perceive by the inclosed Declaration, which I am directed by Congress to transmit to you, and to request you will have it proclaimed in your Colony, in the way you shall think most proper.

The important consequences to the American States from this Declaration of Independence, considered as the ground and foundation of a future government, will naturally suggest the propriety of pro-

claiming it in such a manner that the people may be universally informed of it.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

JOHN HANCOCK, *President.*

The Council Journal of the 12th goes on to say: "The matter and manner of publishing the Independency, as recommended by Congress, largely discoursed, and many things given out relative to the matter, &c., and concluded to lay it by for the present."

Governor Trumbull at Lebanon on July 13 replied to the foregoing letter:—

"Yesterday I received your letter of the 6th instant, enclosing the Declaration of the United States of America. I shall have it proclaimed in the Colony in such a manner that the people may be universally informed of it."

The Declaration was printed in the "Connecticut Courant," then published at Hartford on Mondays, weekly, in the earliest number in which it could have come out regularly,—that is, in the number for Monday, July 15, 1776.

On July 18 the Council of Safety again took up and largely discoursed the matter of publishing the Independency, and finally thought best to let it remain for the determination of the General Assembly at their next stated session, to be held at New Haven on the second Thursday of October then next; and whether the Declaration of Independence was then, or ever, formally proclaimed in Connecticut I do not know. It was approved by the Assembly at the October session, 1776, and at the special session held at Hartford in August, 1777, ordered to be recorded at length in the records of the Assembly.

Mr. Hoadly's Communication respecting the Journals of the Continental Congress.

It is not generally known, and in fact I have never seen it stated, that any portions of the Journals of the Continental Congress were ever published by authority in a fuller form than we now have them in the editions published in thirteen volumes.

On the 31st of March, 1779, on motion of Mr. Drayton, Congress passed the following resolution:—

"Whereas it is essential to the interest and security of every free state, that the conduct of the public servants should be known to their constituents:

Resolved, That, from the first of January last, the journals of this house, except such parts as have been or shall be ordered to be kept secret, be printed immediately; and that, for the future, the journal, except as above, be printed weekly and sent to the executive powers of the several states, to be by them laid before their respective legislatures; and that a printer be engaged to print for congress; and also a printer or printers be employed to bring up the journals from the time of their present publication to the said first of January."

Of the Journal published weekly under this resolve I have the following:—

April 24	to May 3,	pp. 16.
* May 1	to May 10,	pp. 16.
* May 10	to May 15,	pp. 14.
May 17	to May 22,	pp. 24.
* May 24	to May 29,	pp. 20.
* May 31	to June 5,	pp. 15.
* June 7	to June 12,	pp. 19.
June 14	to June 19,	pp. 10.
June 21	to June 26,	pp. 13.
June 28	to July 3,	pp. 15.
July 5	to July 12,	pp. 9.

The New York State Library also has those to which a star is prefixed, and the following in addition:—

February 1	to March 1,	pp. 50.
March 1	to March 30,	pp. 56.
March 31	to April 10,	pp. 24.

All these were printed by David C. Claypoole. How long the weekly publication of the Journals was continued I cannot say.

These pamphlets contain a more complete record of the proceedings of Congress than is to be found in the annual volumes: for example, here is the record of Monday, April 26, 1779:—

"A letter of the 20th from T. Johnston, governor of Maryland, was read:

"Ordered, That it be referred to the board of treasury.

"A letter of this day from colonel M. Swoope was read:

"Ordered, That it be referred to the commissary general of prisoners.

"A letter of this day from major general Arnold was read:

"Ordered, That it be referred to a committee of three.

"The members chosen, Mr. Paca, Mr. Duane and Mr. Burke.

"A letter of this day from S. Deane was read:

" Ordered to lie till the other dispatches are gone through.

" A letter of the 24th from Charles Pettit was read; also a letter of the 23d from general Washington.

" Ordered, that the same be referred to the board of treasury.

" Another letter of the 23d from general Washington, and one of the same date from major general Howe, were read.

" A letter of this day from J. Carleton was read:

" Ordered, That it be referred to the board of treasury.

" A letter of the 22d from mons. de Conty was read:

" Ordered, That it be referred to the board of war.

" A letter of the 23d from W. Livingston, governor of New Jersey, was read, enclosing an original letter signed Dartmouth, directed to the earl of Daumore, dated Whitehall, August the 2d 1775:

" Ordered, That the same be referred to the committee of intelligence.

" The delegates of South Carolina laid before Congress two letters from T. Bee, lieutenant governor of South Carolina; one of the 2d and the other of the 5th instant:

" Ordered, That the letter of the 2d be referred to the board of treasury, and that the letter of the 5th be referred to a committee of three.

" The members chosen, Mr. R. H. Lee, Mr. Burke and Mr. Laurens.

" *Mr. Scudder, a delegate from New Jersey, attended and took his seat.*

" *On motion of Mr. G. Morris seconded by Mr. Searle,*

" *Resolved, That the marine committee be directed to purchase the vessel called the Jason, lately captured and carried into Boston.*

" Resolved, That the reports of the board of treasury and board of war be postponed till to-morrow.

" Congress resumed the consideration of the report of the committee on foreign affairs, and after some time spent thereon,

" Adjourned to ten o'clock to-morrow."

Now, of the above only that portion which is italicized appears in Vol. V. of the revised text published by order of Congress.

Mr. T. C. AMORY recalled to mind that at the time of the adoption of the State Constitution, in 1779, the Judges of the Supreme Court, consisting of Cushing, Sullivan, and Sumner, were directed to adapt the statutes of the Commonwealth to conform to our republican institutions,—a duty that occupied several years, but was for the most part completed by 1785. Judge Sullivan, then on the bench, for the first fifteen years President of this Society, had several classes of subjects allotted

to him. The volume of Acts presented by Judge Chamberlain is particularly valuable, as covering the period it embraces; but a volume presenting the alterations in the statutes and resolves to conform to our new institutions would be also of interest to historical and professional students, prepared either by the State or municipal government.

Judge Sullivan, then Attorney-General of the State, was appointed by Washington, in 1797, to represent the United States under Jay's Treaty in determining the Northeastern Boundary so far as respected the river intended as the St. Croix, in the treaty of peace of 1783. The Commission met at Halifax, and later in Boston. Egbert Benson was selected by Judge Howell and Mr. Barclay as the third Commissioner. Attended by experts and surveyors, they explored the Bay of Fundy and its neighborhood to ascertain the actual river St. Croix, as understood and intended by the contracting parties in 1783. The final report, Oct. 25, 1798, declared that the mouth of the river St. Croix was at Ive's Point in Passamaquoddy Bay, Lat. $45^{\circ} 5' 5''$, and Long. $3^{\circ} 54' 15''$ east from Harvard College, — $67^{\circ} 12' 30''$ from London.

Sullivan argued in favor of the Magaguadavic, lying somewhat farther east, as the river St. Croix, as proved by Indian traditions as well as by Lescarbot and other authorities; but Barclay and Benson, influenced by the fact, it is said, that the British Government had made grants of land to the refugee loyalists about St. Andrews, and by some other considerations, reported for a line farther west. The islands in Passamaquoddy Bay were divided under the Treaty of Ghent, 1815, and the line of the highlands fixed by that of Washington in 1842.

When preparing the memoir of Judge Sullivan, published in 1858, the family of Judge Howell sent Mr. Amory about eighty letters from Judge Sullivan in connection with the Commission, which after the publication of the work were returned to Providence. If any trace should be found of that correspondence, it might be an object for the custodians of our repositories of historical material to obtain the originals or copies for preservation.

The suggestion seems advisable that a more complete journal of the Continental Congress should be printed, as it is now not always easy to procure. That journal consisted of three

parts, — the general journal, the domestic, and the foreign (which was kept secret), — and the whole would be better understood if the arrangement were slightly changed.

Mr. HAYNES called attention to the following citation from the Boston "News-Letter," No. 1084, Oct. 29–Nov. 6, 1724, and asked if any member of the Society could give him any information in regard to it:—

"PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 22. We hear from Jamaica that there has lately arrived there from New Spain on their way home two New England men, who have been absent from their country near fifteen years. They were, with some others, taken captive by the Indians and carried to Canada, from whence they soon after made their escape with a small party, and travelled over the whole continent of America to California; where building a barque they coasted down along to Panama, and so came overland to the North Sea. One of them is an ingenious man, and has kept a journal of their travels, discoveries, and adventures, which, 't is said, are very extraordinary."

This story is not referred to in the exhaustive study of authorities to be found in Mr. Andrew M. Davis's article on "The Journey of Moncacht-Apé," published in the "Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society," April, 1883.

Mr. Haynes also stated that from the same source of information he had discovered the explanation of a reference in Sewall's Diary which had puzzled the editors. In the Diary, Feb. 9, 1720–1,¹ Sewall says:—

"Mr. Yeomans, speaking of the N. England Cœlibacy, said, such things ought not to be printed in a well-ordered Government."

To this the editors have appended the following note:—

"This work, if it were a published book, seems to be unknown. But the 'Courant,' later in the same year, printed numerous communications on the subject of the discouragements to matrimony, and it would seem as though there might have been some publication on the subject."

Now, in the "News-Letter," No. 883, Feb. 6–Feb. 13, 1721, there had appeared the following communication:—

"SALEM, Dec. 13, 1717. A specimen of New English Celibacy.

"Tho' Rome blasphem the Marriage Bed,
And Vows of single life has bred;

¹ Vol. iii. p. 280.

Chaste Parker, Stoughton, Brinsmead, Noyes,
Shew us the odds 'twixt Force and Choice;
These Undeified, Contracted here,
Are gon to Heav'n and Married there.

S. S.

"Let Rome's Anathemas be Dead,
God did appoint the Marriage Bed;
Tho' Earthly Nuptials these had none,
Yet now they'r Wedded to the Three in One.
In Salem with the Bridgroom Joyned all,
Shewiug free Grace in Adam's fall.

J. W."

The first epigram has been printed by Mr. Sibley in his account of the Rev. Nicholas Noyes, who died in Salem, Dec. 13, 1717.¹ Mr. Sibley copied it from a letter written by Judge Sewall to his brother Stephen, Dec. 23, 1717, which had been printed previously in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register."² There, as well as in Mr. Sibley's article, it is preceded by this Latin epigram, —

"Malleus hæreticis; ceteris salatioꝝ sanctis;
Hic jacet Egregius Præco, Poeta pius."

The epithet "salatioꝝ" Mr. Haynes considered a most unfortunate one, under the circumstances, to apply to the deceased divine; and he hazarded the conjectural emendation of "solutioꝝ" — that is, "more unfettered" — as what had probably been written by Sewall, but misread by the transcriber.

The other English epigram in the "News-Letter" was written by John Winthrop, whose compositions in verse are occasionally to be found there.

A new serial, containing the Proceedings of the Society for April, May, and June, was laid on the table by the Recording Secretary.

Professor GOODWIN communicated, with remarks, the Records of the Old Colony Club, with a view to their publication, either in part or entire, in the Proceedings of the Society; whereupon the whole subject was referred, with full power, to a committee consisting of Messrs. Goodwin, Deane, and Lord. The Records here follow, prefaced by an historical statement by the Committee.

¹ "Harvard Graduates," vol. ii. p. 243.

² Vol. xxiv. p. 291.

Records of the Old Colony Club.

By consent of the owner of the Records of the Old Colony Club, Mr. Ben Marston Watson, of Plymouth, a transcript has been made for the Society's use.

"This Club," writes Mr. Watson, "was founded by my grandfather, John Watson, and six other young men whose autographs may be seen on the first page of the Records. I suppose these names are in the order of the ages of the signers. John Watson and 'Ned Winslow' had but recently graduated at Harvard College, — the former in 1766, and the latter in 1765. Pelham Winslow graduated in 1753, and John Thomas, a classmate of Edward Winslow, in 1765. Five others subsequently became members of the Club by election. The Club was the first to celebrate the 'Landing of the Pilgrims,' and this celebration was first called 'The Anniversary' in these pages. The first oration ever delivered in memory of the Forefathers, by Edward Winslow, Jr., a member of the Club, may be seen herein. My grandfather was the last surviving member of the Club, and at his death these Records were in his possession. Thence they came to my father, and so to me. My grandfather afterward became President of the Pilgrim Society."

The Club never consisted of over twelve members, all young men, — seven founders, and five others elected. The invited guests were generally the elderly gentlemen of the town, and visitors. Among these we find the names, from time to time, of several persons distinguished in political and social life and for legal attainments; for example, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Sampson Salter Blowers, Daniel Leonard, Thomas Oliver, Thomas Fluker, Jr., Richard Lechmere, James Otis, Samuel Alleyne Otis, Dr. Charles Stockbridge, James Warren, Edward Winslow, General John Winslow, Thomas Davis, and William Sever.

The Club in the year of its institution celebrated the event of the "Landing." At a meeting on December 20, it was "Voted, That Friday next be kept by this Club in commemoration of the first landing of our worthy ancestors in this place; that the Club dine together at Mr. Howland's, and that a number of gentlemen be invited to spend the evening with us at the Old Colony Hall." Friday, the day assigned for the commem-

oration, was the 22d of December; and thus, by a mistake in the calculation, was inaugurated, at the start, an error which was continued to our own day.¹ The Club met accordingly at their hall, and thence proceeded to the house of Thomas Southworth Howland, innholder, situated in North Street, "which is erected upon the spot where the first licensed house in the Old Colony formerly stood. At half after two a decent repast was served up, which consisted of the following dishes." The body of the Records is referred to for the *menu* on this occasion, and for the doings of the Club in detail, which show that the celebration was worthy the occasion. The anniversary was commemorated every year by the Club during its brief existence. In 1770 a short oration or address was made by a member of the Club, Edward Winslow, Jr.; in 1772 a sermon was preached by the Rev. Chandler Robbins, the minister of the First Parish; and in 1773, a sermon by the Rev. Charles Turner, of Duxbury, the town and First Parish participating. But the existence of the Club was drawing to a close. The Revolutionary War was coming on, and party lines were forming. More than one half the members of the Club were Loyalists; and the concluding meetings in November and December, 1773, show that they alone were controlling its fortunes. With the close of that year came the end of the Club.

Dr. James Thacher made a free use of these Records in preparing his History of Plymouth, 1832 (second edition, 1835); but it was thought that perhaps the Historical Society might like to print them entire, including the names of the members and of the invited guests present at the several meetings, although very often nothing else is recorded. The names may hereafter serve a genealogical or biographical purpose.

A brief notice of the members of the Club will conclude these preliminary remarks:²—

¹ Seventeen years before the Old Colony Club was instituted, in 1752, eleven days had been dropped in the calendar, throughout England and her colonies, in order to reconcile the new and old styles at that time; and these gentlemen of the Club appear to have thought that they must add eleven days to Dec. 11, 1620, to get the true day of the landing. On the same erroneous principle we should in this century be obliged to add twelve days, and thus the anniversary would have become a movable feast. In 1850 the Pilgrim Society voted to hold the anniversary meetings hereafter on the 21st of December instead of the 22d. It will be noticed that in 1770, when the 22d fell on Saturday, Monday the 24th, and not Friday the 21st, was celebrated by the Club.

² It has not seemed practicable to the Committee to attempt a biographical sketch of all the invited guests at the several meetings of the Club whose names

Isaac Lothrop, the President of the Old Colony Club, was born in 1735. He was the son of Isaac Lothrop, Esq., who died in 1750, and he was the oldest of five children by a second marriage. After receiving the usual school education he lived seven years with a merchant in Boston. Soon after the expiration of his clerkship he returned to Plymouth, where he passed the remainder of his life, first as a merchant, but from the year 1778 as Register of Probate, which office he retained till his death, July 25, 1808. In 1774 he and James Warren were chosen to represent the town in the Provincial Congress. Respect for his character and historical attainments was shown in his early election as a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, he and the Hon. David Sewall, of York, Maine, being the first members elected after its institution in 1791. On his decease Judge Davis was appointed to write his memoir, which was printed in 2 Coll. vol. i. pp. 258-260, in which his virtues are delineated with the ardor which sincere respect and warm attachment for the deceased alone would inspire. Mr. Lothrop was never married.

Pelham Winslow was a descendant of the first Edward, and the second son of General John, who removed the Acadians in 1755. He was born in 1737, graduated at Harvard College in 1753, and studied law with James Otis; and he and Oakes Angier (H. C. 1764) were the only barristers in Plymouth County before the Revolution. Sympathizing with the Loyalists on the outbreak of the Revolution, he, with his cousin Edward Winslow, Jr., took refuge in Boston, and on the "evacuation" went to Halifax, thence to New York, enlisting in the service of the Crown; and he became a major. His name was in the Act of 1778, in which over three hundred Refugees were proscribed and forbidden to return. He died on Long Island in 1783, leaving a wife, Joanna White, whom he married about the year 1770, and two daughters, Anna and Mary, at Plymouth; the former became the wife of Dr. Nathan Hayward, and the latter the wife of Henry Warren, father of the late Judge Charles Henry Warren. Mrs. Pelham Winslow continued to live in Plymouth till her death in 1829.¹

are enrolled on the Records, — some one hundred in number; but brief notices are given in the notes of those who were invited to meet the Club at the first and second celebrations of the anniversary, in 1769 and 1770.

¹ See Sabine; Davis's Landmarks; Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. xxii. p. 20, vol. xviii. p. 208.

Thomas Lothrop, the Secretary of the Club, was a brother of Isaac, its President. He was born in 1740; married in 1773 Lydia, daughter of Nathaniel Goodwin, and had children, Caleb and Harriet. Harriet married Chandler Robbins, son of the Rev. Chandler Robbins, minister of the First Parish in Plymouth. Thomas, the Secretary, died in 1794.¹

Elkanah Cushman, the Steward and Treasurer of the Club, a descendant of Robert, was the son of Elkanah, of Plympton. He was born Nov. 13, 1741; married Mary, daughter of Ansel Lothrop; and had a son, Elkanah, who was born in Plymouth June 1, 1769, and died in Boston, June 13, 1841. This son, Elkanah, married, first, Dec. 26, 1790, Susannah Wendell Lothrop, who died Feb. 8, 1815; and second, Oct. 18, 1815, Mary Elizabeth Babbit, who was the mother of Charlotte Saunders Cushman, the distinguished actress, born in Boston, July 23, 1816. He had six children by his first wife and five by the second. Elkanah, the Steward of the Club, was probably a Loyalist and Refugee. In a list of "Refugees from the County of Plymouth," found among the Winslow Papers, his name appears from the town of Plymouth; and Sabine (vol. ii. p. 503) says that "he was a petty officer of the customs," and that "in 1776 he embarked at Boston for Halifax with the British army." In a list of persons who embarked from Boston on the evacuation, taken from a paper in the handwriting of Walter Barrell, Inspector-General, who was one of them, is "Elkanah Cushman, *Tidesman*," with a solitary "1" against his name, showing that he embarked alone.²

John Thomas, son of Nathaniel, of Plymouth, by a third wife, Elizabeth Gardner, was born in 1745, and graduated at Harvard College in 1765. A daughter of Nathaniel's second wife married General John Thomas of the Revolution. John, the subject of this notice, owned and probably built the Old Colony Hall, in Market Street, in which the Club held its meetings. This property he sold when he left the country to Thomas Davis, Jr., and LeBaron Bradford. He married Anna, daughter of Thomas Mayhew. He left Plymouth probably in 1780, and in 1815 was living in Liverpool, Nova Scotia. He died in 1823.³

¹ See Thacher's Plymouth, p. 176; Davis's Landmarks.

² See Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. xxii. p. 234, vol. xviii. p. 266; Cushman Genealogy, *passim*.

³ See Sabine, vol. ii. p. 352; Davis's Landmarks, pt. i. pp. 236, 237, pt. ii.

Edward Winslow, Jr., whose name often occurs in these Records without the "Jr.," was a descendant of the first Edward, and a son of Edward, the brother of General John. Edward, Jr., was born in 1746, and graduated at Harvard College in 1765. He was Naval Officer at Plymouth, and, jointly with his father, Register of Wills. Adhering to the Crown in sympathy with his father, he joined the royal army in Boston, went to Lexington with Lord Percy, was appointed by General Gage Collector of Boston and Register of Wills in Suffolk; went to Halifax on the evacuation, and was made there, by Sir William Howe, Secretary of the Board of General Officers, with Lord Percy President, to distribute donations to the troops; went to New York, was appointed Muster-Master-General of the forces, and remained in that capacity during the war. In 1779 he was chosen by the Refugees in Rhode Island their commander, and served during two campaigns; he went to Halifax with his father, and was there Military Secretary until his father's death in 1784. Next year he went to New Brunswick as one of the King's Council and Paymaster of Contingencies, and died at Fredericton in 1815, aged seventy. He married Mary Symonds after he left Plymouth, and had many children. He has the honor of having delivered, Dec. 22, 1770, the earliest address in commemoration of the landing of the Pilgrims, a record of which is here preserved. Elkanah Watson, in the "Men and Times of the Revolution," 2d ed. p. 85, says of him: "He joined the army, and in the expedition to Lexington was its guide, acting as aid to Lord Percy. In that battle he had a horse shot under him. He was a manly, noble, splendid fellow; generous to a fault, a gentleman in feeling, and elegant in person. An only son to bear up his distinguished name, he was naturally the idol of his father as well as of two maiden sisters of rare accomplishments. His father remained at Plymouth, isolated among his Whig relations, and deprived, by the disasters of the times and the approaching conflict, of every means of support, although accustomed to all the luxuries of wealth."¹

pp. 184, 262, and MS. notes; 2 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., pp. 776, 777; *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, vol. xxii. p. 224.

¹ See Sabine; *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, vol. xxii. pp. 224, 229-242; MS. notes of William T. Davis.

John Watson, the last surviving member of the Old Colony Club, son of John and nephew of George, was born in 1747; graduated at Harvard College in 1766; married, first, in 1769, Lucia, daughter of Benjamin Marston, of Manchester; second, in 1796, Eunice Marston, widow of Lazarus Goodwin. His sympathies in the Revolution were with the Loyalists, of whom there were many in the Old Colony; but he took the oath of allegiance and adhered to his country. He was the proprietor of Clark's Island, which he inherited as the descendant of Elkanah Watson, one of the original grantees from the town of Plymouth. He lived there during the last forty years of his life. Dr. Thacher says: "He always felt a peculiar attachment to the spot, as affording antiquarian associations, which he delighted to indulge in, and to recount to his family and friends." He was President of the Pilgrim Society from 1821 to his death, Feb. 1, 1826. At the centennial celebration of the Landing, Dec. 22, 1820, when Mr. Webster delivered the oration, Mr. Watson as Vice-President, in the absence of the President, the Hon. Joshua Thomas, presided during the hours of dinner. For a full account of the celebration see Thacher's "Plymouth," under this date. Among his children was Benjamin Marston Watson, whose son, Benjamin Marston, of "Hillside," Plymouth, is the present owner of the Records of the Old Colony Club.

Cornelius White, with the prefix of "Captain" in the Records, was elected a member July 12, 1769. He was a son of Gideon White and Joanna Howland, and was born in 1744. His tombstone recites that he "foundered at sea Sept. 22, 1779." He died unmarried. His sister Joanna married Pelham Winslow. His name appears in the list of Refugees from Plymouth, referred to above; and as "Cornelius White, mariner, of Plymouth," he was proscribed in the Act of 1778 and forbidden to return to the country.¹

Thomas Mayhew, Jr.,—son of Thomas Mayhew, who probably came from Chilmark, Martha's Vineyard, and was descended from Thomas, the common ancestor of the family,—was born in Plymouth in 1744. He probably shared the political sentiments of his father, who was a Whig.²

¹ See Russell's *Pilgrim Memorials*, 3d ed. p. 79.

² See *Indian Converts*, etc., by Experience Mayhew, London, 1727, p. 280; Davis's *Landmarks*.

Oakes Angier was a son of the Rev. John, minister of East Bridgewater, who for a short time taught school in Plymouth. Oakes, whose grandmother was a daughter of the Rev. Urian Oakes, was born in 1745, graduated at Harvard College in 1763, read law with John Adams, settled in West Bridgewater, and became an eminent lawyer.¹

Alexander Scammell was at this time teacher of the public grammar school in Plymouth. He was born in Mendon, now Milford, Massachusetts, and graduated in 1769 at Harvard College. His name disappears from these Records after April 1, 1771; and in August following he served in some capacity on board the armed sloop "Lord Chatham," bound from the Piscataqua River to Boston. He served in the army during the Revolution, was Colonel of the Third New Hampshire regiment, was made Adjutant-General of the Continental Army by Congress, and on the 30th of September, at the siege of Yorktown, where he commanded a chosen corps of light infantry, he was wounded; he died the following month while a prisoner at Williamsburg. Colonel David Humphreys wrote a monumental epitaph, which was placed over his grave, in which occur these lines:—

"Brave Scammell's fame, to distant regions known,
Shall last beyond this monumental stone,
Which conquering armies (from their toils returned)
Reared to his glory, while his fate they mourned."²

Samuel Adams, the twelfth and last member who signed the Constitution of the Club, and whose name appears in the Records as "Captain" Adams, had several times attended the meetings "by invitation," and, having expressed a wish to become a member, was elected March 25, 1772. He was probably a sea-captain. He attended but two meetings of the Club after his election, the last on April 15; and at a meeting on the following January, a notice is taken of the death of "brother Adams," which had occurred on the 5th of the preceding August, at Cape St. Nicholas Mole, a port on the extreme northwest side of Haiti.

¹ See Mitchell's *Bridgewater*, pp. 106, 107; Davis's *Landmarks*, pp. 111, 112.

² See Allen's *Biographical Dictionary*; Davis's *Landmarks*, pt. i. p. 113; Humphreys' *Works*, p. 195, ed. of 1804.

Old Colony Club

January, 13 1769

Isaac Lathrop

William Winston

Thomas Lathrop

Elkanah Fushman

John Thomas

Edward Winston Junr.

John Watfson

Cornelius White July 12th

Thomas Mayhew Junr.

Oakes Argie

Abd Scammell

Samuel Adams

Old Colony Club.

JANUARY 13, 1769.

We whose names are underwritten, having maturely weighed and seriously considered the many disadvantages and inconveniences that arise from intermixing with the company at the taverns in this town of Plymouth, and apprehending that a well regulated club will have a tendency to prevent the same, and to increase not only the pleasure and happiness of the respective members, but also will conduce to their edification and instruction, do hereby incorporate ourselves into a society by the name of the Old Colony Club; for the better regulation of which we do consent and agree to observe all such rules and laws as shall from time to time be made by the Club. Dated at our Hall in Plymouth the day and year above written.

Isaac Lothrop

Pelham Winslow

Thomas Lothrop

Elkanah Cushman

John Thomas

Edward Winslow Jun^r

John Watson

Cornelius White July 12thThomas Mayhew Jun^r

Oakes Angier

Alxd^r Scammell

Samuel Adams.

January 13. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club at our Hall in Plymouth this thirteenth day of January, A. D. 1769.

Present: Mr. Isaac Lothrop
Pelham Winslow
Thomas Lothrop
Elkanah Cushman

John Thomas
Edward Winslow
John Watson

} Members of
said Club.

The following rules and laws were voted and made; namely, —

1. The members to be at the room at candle-lighting, and not to remain there after eleven o'clock.

2. Any person who shall manifest a desire to be admitted as a member shall be proposed at a full meeting, and shall not be admitted without the unanimous vote of the Club, and paying his proportion of the value of the stores that shall be in stock at the time of his admission.

3. If either of the members shall at any time be desirous of quitting the Club, he shall first pay to the steward his proportion of such sums as the Club may be in arrears at the time of his dismission.

4. No member of this Club shall invite any gentleman of this town without the consent of the major part of the Club, nor any stranger without the approbation of one or more of the Club.

5. Whatever articles of stores, etc., shall be thought necessary for the use of the Club, a list of them shall be made out by the steward with their supposed value, and each member's proportion advanced to him.

6. The Steward at the end of every quarter shall render an account of all the articles purchased for the use of the Club, and produce his vouchers, and if it appears that he has expended more money than was advanced to him he shall immediately be reimbursed by the Club; and if he is in arrears it shall be carried to the Club's credit for another quarter.

7. If it should so happen that any difference or quarrel should arise at any meeting of the Club between any of its members, it shall be settled and adjusted by the majority of the others then present, and the aggressor (by the determination of said majority) shall make such acknowledgment and satisfaction as shall be enjoined him, and no member shall make mention of any such quarrel or dispute at any time or place out of Club.

8. That the Club meet on every Wednesday evening. At said meeting Mr. Edward Winslow, Jun^r, being previously desired by the Club to purchase certain stores, etc., presented his account with his vouchers for acceptance, which was allowed of by the Club, and ordered to be recorded, and is as follows; namely, —

To cash p ^d Cap ^t Elkanah Watson as ? note on file	13 . 6
To ditto p ^d Mr. Thomas Wethrell ? ditto	11 . 5
To ditto p ^d Mr. Jonathan Diman ? ditto	11 . 2½
To ditto p ^d Mr. Nathaniel Goodwin ? ditto	2 .
To ditto p ^d Mr. John Russell ? receipt	6 .
To ditto p ^d Mr. Isaac Symmes ? note 8
To ditto p ^d Mr. Thomas Doten ? ditto	19 . 4
Reimbursed to Mr. Edward Winslow	£ 3 . 4 . 1½

Voted, That Mr. Elkanah Cushman shall be Steward of this Club, and in consideration of the trouble he will be at in the execution of his office he shall be exempted from any expenses of the Club.

Voted, That the Steward shall present the compliments of the Club to Cap^t Elk^a Watson and Dr. Nath. Lothrop, and desire their company at our Hall on the next Wednesday evening.

January 18. Present, all the members. Capt. Watson } By invitation.
Doct. Lothrop }

Mr. Steward's bill presented and accepted; namely, —

Thomas Wetherell's account	1 . 2½	} Reimbursed . 3 . 9
Cap ^t Watson's ditto	1 . 2½	
Elk ^a Cushman	1 . 4	

Voted, That the steward present the compliments of the Club to William Watson, Esq^r, and M^r Ephraim Spooner, and desire their company at our Hall on the next Wednesday evening.

January 25. At another meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	John Thomas	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	Edward Winslow Junr	
Elkanah Cushman		

William Watson Esq.	} By invitation.
M ^r Ephraim Spooner	

M^r Ephraim Spooner (hearing some one of the members object to the boy's carrying the mug out of the room for water) was kind enough to offer the Club a large can, for which he had the thanks of the members present; and after the gentlemen by invitation had withdrawn, the following vote passed: Voted, That M^r John Russell and M^r Thomas South: Howland be invited the next Club night.

February 1. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Thomas Lothrop	} Members.
Elkanah Cushman	
Edward Winslow	
John Watson	

M ^r John Russell	} By invitation.
M ^r T. South: Howland	

Voted, That no invitation be given to any one till the next Club night.

February 8. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Thomas Lothrop	} Members.
Pelham Winslow	Edward Winslow J ^r	
Elk ^s Cushman	John Watson	

Voted, That the steward lay before the Club at their next meeting a draught of the Old Colony Coat of Arms proper to be engraved on a plate for a mug.

February 15. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	John Thomas	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	Edward Winslow &	
Elkanah Cushman	John Watson	

Voted, That the steward (he having presented a draught) shall engrave on a silver plate the figures represented on said draught for a mug.

February 22. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members.

Cap^t Thomas Matthews by invitation.

Voted, That our Pelham Winslow shall procure *Lex Mercatoria* for the use of the Club.

This night the silver plate (agreeable to the vote of the last meeting) was produced by the Steward and unanimously approved, and the thanks of the Club given him for his ingenious performance.¹

March 1. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	John Thomas	} Members.
Pelham Winslow	Edward Winslow &	
Elkanah Cushman	John Watson	

March 8. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Elkanah Cushman	} Members.
Pelham Winslow	John Watson	
Thomas Lothrop		
	Mr. Edward Clarke	} By invitation.
	Capt. Staunton	

March 15. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	} Members.
Pelham Winslow	
Elkanah Cushman &	
John Watson	
Cap ^t Watson by invitation.	

March 22. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Elkanah Cushman	} Members.
Pelham Winslow	&	
Thomas Lothrop	Edward Winslow	

March 29. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members.

April 5. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	John Thomas	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	Edward Winslow &	
Elkanah Cushman	John Watson	

This night *Lex Mercatoria* was brought into Club.²

¹ The Old Colony Coat of Arms which the steward was instructed to engrave on a silver plate was probably that represented in the volume of *Laws of the Colony*, published in 1685, and copied by Judge Davis into his edition of the *Memorial*, p. 9. Whether the plate was ever put to the use designed is not known.

² "*Lex Mercatoria in Rediviva*, or the Merchant's Directory," etc., a book compiled by Wyndham Beawes, merchant, consul at Seville and St. Lucan (first

Quarterly Night.

April 12. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members.

Robert Treat Paine Esq ^r	} By invitation.
Daniel Leonard Esq ^r	
Mr. John Sprague &	
Mr. Oakes Angier	

This night ends the first quarter, held at M^r Jona. Diman's front room.

M^r Steward presents his account current, stands C^t 6. 0. 2^d

Balance carried new account	10. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$	5. 9. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
Add what M ^r Ed: Winslow first advanced		3. 4. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Expense for first quarter amounts to	8. 12. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$	

April 19. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Elkanah Cushman	} Members.
Pelham Winslow	John Thomas	
Thomas Lothrop		
Doctor Charles Stockbridge & M ^r Isaac LeBaron		} By invitation.

This night begins a new quarter. Rent commences to M^r John Thomas for Old Colony Hall @ 16/8^d 3^d Quarter.¹

April 26. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	John Thomas	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	&	
Elkanah Cushman	John Watson	

Cap^t Allen of the Marines on board the "Romney" by invitation.²

edition, 1750; second edition, 1761). Harvard College has a copy of the fourth edition, 1783, edited by Thomas Mortimer. The last edition was edited by J. Chitty, 1813. No trace of this copy can now be found in Plymouth.

¹ The meetings of the Club for the first quarter ending April 12 were "held at Mr. Jonathan Diman's front room," on the corner of North and Court Streets. The Old Colony Hall, in which the Club thenceforward continued to hold its meetings, was on Market Street. It was built by John Thomas, one of the members of the Club, and not unlikely, as Mr. Davis (*Landmarks of Plymouth*, p. 237) thinks, for its use and occupation. It was for many years the most considerable hall in Plymouth, and has only recently been removed.

² The British man-of-war "Romney," of fifty or sixty guns, arrived in Boston harbor from Halifax a few days before the seizure by the custom-house authorities of Hancock's sloop "Liberty," June 10, 1768; and she gave protection to the officers from the mob which the seizure had occasioned. Subsequently, on the first of October, she was one of "near upon fourteen ships of war lying within

May 3. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Edward Winslow	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	John Watson	

May 10. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club at the new Hall.
Present, all the members.

M^r Joseph Church and M^r Thomas Mayhew by invitation.

May 17. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Elkanah Cushman	} Members.
Pelham Winslow	Edward Winslow	
Thomas Lothrop		
The Hon ^{ble} John Winslow Esq ^r		} By invitation.
Nathaniel Ray Thomas Esq ^r		
M ^r Oakes Angier		
Doctor Charles Stockbridge		
Doctor Isaac Winslow & M ^r Thomas Mayhew Jun.		

May 24. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	
Edward Winslow	
John Watson	

M^r Joseph Church and M^r Thomas Mayhew by invitation.

May 31. At a meeting of Old Colony Club. Present, all the members.

June 7. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Elk ^a Cushman
Pelham Winslow	John Thomas.
Thomas Lothrop	

June 14. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Elkanah Cushman
Pelham Winslow	Edward Winslow &
Thomas Lothrop	John Watson.

M^r Ephraim Spooner by invitation.

their broadsides to the town, having springs on their cables," to cover the landing in Boston of the two regiments from Halifax. The "Romney" would seem to be lying in the harbor of Plymouth at this time. See Gordon's American Revolution, London ed., vol. i. pp. 231-233, 247.

June 21. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members.

Cap^t Joseph Trumble & M^r Samuel Adams by invitation.

June 28. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	John Thomas	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	Edward Winslow	
Elkanah Cushman	John Watson	
Cap ^t Cornelius White by invitation.		

July 5. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	John Thomas	} Members.
Pelham Winslow	Edward Winslow	
Thomas Lothrop	John Watson	
Robert Treat Paine Esq ^r		
Daniel Leonard Esq ^r		} By invitation.
M ^r Oakes Angier &		
Cap ^t Cornelius White.		

Quarterly Night.

July 12. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Elkanah Cushman	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	Edward Winslow	

Cap^t Cornelius White having manifested a desire to be admitted a member of this Club, he was in a full meeting the last Club night proposed (agreeable to law), and this night by a unanimous vote was admitted.

M^r Steward presented his bill for the last quarter ending this night, amounting to 10.17.10 which was accepted and discharged.

July 19. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Pelham Winslow	John Thomas	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	Cornelius White	
Elkanah Cushman	Edward Winslow	
M ^r Oakes Angier by invitation.		

July 26. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Thomas Lothrop	} Members.
Elkanah Cushman	
Edward Winslow	
M ^r John Russell	} By invitation.
M ^r Lemuel LeBaron &	
M ^r Graves	

August 2. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	John Thomas	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	Edward Winslow	
Elkanah Cushman	John Watson	
M ^r Oakes Angier	} By invitation.	
M ^r Edward Clarke		
M ^r Thomas Mayhew		

M^r Thomas Mayhew having manifested an inclination or desire to be admitted a member of this Club, and having been approved, it was voted that M^r Steward (when all the members are in town) should notify a meeting for that purpose, and for regulating some other particular matters of the Club.

August 9. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	John Thomas	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	John Watson &	
Elkanah Cushman	Cornelius White	
M ^r Thomas Mayhew	} By invitation.	
Cap ^t Henry Kellom		

August 16. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	John Thomas	} Members.
Pelham Winslow	Cornelius White	
Thomas Lothrop	Edward Winslow	
Elkanah Cushman	John Watson	

Cap^t Elkanah Watson and M^r Edward Clarke by invitation.

Voted, That those members who belong to this Club and whose business may call them out of the Province shall pay $\frac{2}{3}$ a night to the Club while in the government, until further regulations be made in this matter.

August 22. At an occasional meeting of the Old Colony Club called agreeable to the vote of the 2d instant, M^r Thomas Mayhew, Jun^r, was admitted a member thereof by the unanimous vote of the Club.

Voted, That Pelham Winslow, Thomas Lothrop, and Edward Winslow be a committee to draw a form for the admission of future members.

August 23. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members.

M ^r Morson of Dominica	} By invitation.
Cap ^t Hanson of Jamaica	
M ^r Andrew Thomson	
M ^r Edward Clarke	

August 30. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members.

Cap ^t Abraham Hammatt	} Gentlemen by invitation.
M ^r Andrew Thomson	
M ^r John Russell &	
M ^r Robert Brown	

September 6. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Thomas Mayhew	} Members.
Pelham Winslow	Cornelius White	
Elkanah Cushman	Edward Winslow &	
John Thomas	John Watson	
Cap ^t Solomon Davis	} Gentlemen by invitation.	
Major John Vassall &		
M ^r John Russell		

September 13. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	John Thomas	} Members.
Pelham Winslow	Thomas Mayhew	
Thomas Lothrop	Cornelius White &	
Elkanah Cushman	John Watson	
Cap ^t Abraham Hammatt by invitation.		

Voted an occasional meeting to-morrow at twelve of the clock, at the request of M^r Steward, in order to raise some cash.

September 14. At an occasional meeting of the Old Colony Club, called agreeable to the vote of last night, M^r Steward's request was answered.

September 20. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Pelham Winslow	Thomas Mayhew	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	Cornelius White	
Elkanah Cushman	&	
John Thomas	John Watson	

September 27. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members, and M^r Oakes Angier by invitation.

October 4. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members, and M^r Oakes Angier, R. T. Paine, D. Leonard, and Cap^t Hill by invitation.

M^r Oakes Angier having manifested a desire to be admitted a member of this Club, it was voted that an occasional meeting should be called the 7th instant for that purpose.

October 7. At an occasional meeting of the Old Colony Club, agreeable to the vote last Club night, M^r Oakes Angier was admitted a member of this Club by a unanimous vote.

Quarterly Night.

11th At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Edward Winslow	} Members.
Pelham Winslow	John Watson	
Thomas Lothrop	Cornelius White	
Elkanah Cushman	Thomas Mayhew	
Col ^o Thomas Oliver	Edward Winslow Esq ^r &	} By invitation.
Richard Lechmere Esq ^r	Cap ^t Gideon White	

M^r Steward presented his bill for the last quarter ending this night, amounting to 3. 12. 4½ which was allowed and discharged.

October 18. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Edward Winslow	} Members.
Pelham Winslow	Cornelius White	
Thomas Lothrop	&	
Elkanah Cushman	Thomas Mayhew	

Cap^t Elkanah Watson and M^r Abraham Hammatt, Jun., by invitation.

Voted, That Mess^{rs} Pelham Winslow, Elk^s Cushman, and Tho^s Mayhew be a committee to see what repairs the Hall requires, and consult with carpenters to know the expense and report accordingly.

October 25. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	John Watson	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	Cornelius White	
Elkanah Cushman	&	
Edward Winslow	Thomas Mayhew	
Doctor Charles Russell & Cap ^t Samuel Doggett		} Gentlemen by invitation.

November 1. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	John Watson	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	Cornelius White	
Edward Winslow	&	
John Thomas	Thomas Mayhew	

November 8. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Pelham Winslow	Elkanah Cushman	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	Thomas Mayhew	

November 15. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Pelham Winslow	John Watson	} Members.
Tho: Lothrop	Cornelius White	
Elkanah Cushman	&	
Edward Winslow	Thomas Mayhew	

Voted, That every member each Club night shall at the Hall deposit half a pistareen for the use of the Club. And at said meeting Mr. Elkanah Cushman was chosen Treasurer to receive and account for the money to be deposited agreeable to the above vote.

Voted, That Oakes Angier shall be accountable for his half pistareen only such nights as he shall meet with the Club, and that Cornelius White and Thomas Mayhew be accountable for their half pistareens while in the Province.

The committee chosen the 18th of October having reported, Voted that the said committee contract with carpenters to repair the Hall and report the expense.

November 22. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members except Mr. Angier.

Col: Stephen Miller &	} By invitation.
M: Elisha Lord	

November 29. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members.

December 6. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Thomas Lothrop	John Watson	} Members.
Elkanah Cushman	Cornelius White	
John Thomas	&	
Edward Winslow	Thomas Mayhew	

M: Elisha Lord by invitation.

December 13. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members.

R. T. Paine Esq:	M: Alexander Scammell	} By invitation.
Dan: Leonard Esq:	M: Peleg Wadsworth	

The committee chosen the 15th of November last to repair the Hall etc., reported that the expense of said repairs amounted (as ^{per} particular bill exhibited) to £4. 7. 4 which report was accepted, and the bill discharged.

December 20. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Edward Winslow	} Members.
Pelham Winslow	Cornelius White	
Elkanah Cushman	Thomas Mayhew	
John Thomas		

Cap^t Elk^s Watson by invitation.

Voted, That the steward purchase a cheese with the money now in the treasury.

Voted, That Friday next be kept by this Club in commemoration of the first landing of our worthy ancestors in this place. That the Club dine together at M^r Howland's,¹ and that a number of gentlemen be invited to spend the evening with us at the Old Colony Hall.

Old Colony Day.

Friday, December 22. The Old Colony Club, agreeable to a vote passed the 20th instant, met in commemoration of the landing of their worthy ancestors in this place. On the morning of said day, after discharging a cannon, was hoisted upon the Hall an elegant silk flag with the following inscription, "Old Colony 1620." At eleven o'clock A. M. the members of the Club appeared at the Hall, and from thence proceeded to the house of M^r Howland, innholder (which is erected upon the spot where the first licensed House in the Old Colony formerly stood). At half after two a decent repast was served up, which consisted of the following dishes; namely, —

1. A large baked Indian whortleberry pudding.
2. A dish of sauquetash.²
3. A dish of clams.
4. A dish of oysters and a dish of codfish.
5. A haunch of venison roasted by the first jack brought to the Colony.
6. A dish of sea-fowl.
7. A ditto of frost-fish and eels.
8. An apple pie.
9. A course of cranberry tarts, and cheese made in the Old Colony; dressed in the plainest manner (all appearances of luxury and extravagance being avoided, in imitation of our worthy ancestors whose memory we shall ever respect). At four o'clock P. M., the members of our Club, headed by the steward carrying a folio volume of the laws of

¹ This was Thomas Southworth Howland, so often the guest of the Club. He was son of Consider Howland, who had also been an innholder. The house stood on the north side of North Street, where the house owned by Nathaniel Morton now stands. (See Davis's Landmarks, pt. i. p. 172.)

² Succotash: maize and beans boiled together.

the Old Colony, hand in hand marched in procession to the Hall. Upon the appearance of the procession in the front of the Hall a number of descendants from the first settlers in the Old Colony drew up in a regular file and discharged a volley of small arms, succeeded by three cheers, which were returned by the Club, and the gentlemen generously treated. After this appeared at the Private Grammar School opposite the Hall a number of young gentlemen, pupils of Mr Wadsworth,¹ who to express their joy upon this occasion, and their respect for the memory of their ancestors, in the most agreeable manner joined in singing a song very applicable to the day. At sun setting a cannon was discharged and the flag struck.

In the evening the Hall was illuminated, and the following gentlemen (being previously invited) joined the Club; namely, —

Col^o George Watson
Col^o James Warren
James Hovey Esq^r
Thomas Mayhew Esq^r
William Watson Esq^r
Cap^t Gideon White
Cap^t Elkanah Watson

Cap^t Thomas Davis
Doctor Nath^l Lothrop
M^r John Russell
M^r Edward Clarke
M^r Alexander Scammel
M^r Peleg Wadsworth
M^r Tho^s South : Howland.²

The President (being seated in a large and venerable chair which was formerly possessed by William Bradford, the second worthy Governor of the Old Colony, and presented to the Club by our friend

¹ Peleg Wadsworth taught a private school in Plymouth at this time, while his classmate, Alexander Scammel, taught the public school here. The house in which the school was kept, "opposite the Hall," was that known as the Lazarus Symmes house, and it is referred to by Sewall in his *Diary*. Wadsworth was a native of Duxbury, and a son of Deacon Peleg. He married, in 1772, Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel Bartlett, of Plymouth. He was in the War of the Revolution, became a Major-General, and gained distinction. He afterward settled in Portland, Maine, and was prominent in political life. His eldest daughter, Zilpah, married Stephen Longfellow, and became the mother of the poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. He died in Hiram, Maine, Nov. 18, 1820. (See Davis's *Landmarks*; Winsor's *Duxbury*; Drake's *Biographical Dictionary*.)

² A brief sketch is here given of the persons invited to unite with the Club in the celebration of this first anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrims: —

Colonel George Watson, half-brother of William, noticed below, and uncle of John of the Club, was born in 1718; married, 1748, Abigail, daughter of Richard Saltonstall, and had George and another son. He married next, in 1753, Elizabeth, daughter of Peter Oliver, and had Mary, 1754, who married Elisha Hutchinson; George, 1757; Sarah, 1759, who married Martin Brimmer, the grandfather of the present Martin, of Boston; Elizabeth, 1767, who married, first, Thomas Russell, of Boston, and, second, Sir Grenville Temple. He married, third, Mrs. Phebe Scott. Sir Grenville Temple Temple, son of his daughter Elizabeth, born 1799, married Mary, daughter of George Baring, brother of Lord Ashburton. Colonel

Dr. Lazarus LeBaron of this town)¹ delivered the following toasts successively to the company; namely, —

Watson was a Loyalist during the Revolution, but he took the oath of allegiance and was a good citizen. Dr. Thacher, who notices his death under Dec. 13, 1800, at the advanced age of eighty-three, commends him as possessed of every virtue under heaven. His gravestone has these lines written by Judge Davis: —

"No folly wasted his paternal store,
No guilt nor sordid avarice made it more;
With honest fame and sober plenty crowned
He lived, and spread his cheering influence round.
Pure was his walk, and peaceful was his end;
We blessed his reverend length of days,
And hailed him in the public ways,
With veneration and with praise,
Our father and our friend."

James Warren, son of James and grandson of James, was born in 1726. All the three Jameses in succession bore the office of sheriff, — the first 1699 to 1700, the second 1733 to 1762, the third 1762 to 1779. He graduated at Harvard College in 1745, was Paymaster-General in the continental army, Major-General of Militia, and succeeded Dr. Joseph Warren as President of the Provincial Congress. He is said to have suggested to Samuel Adams the formation of Committees of Correspondence. He married Mercy Otis, daughter of James Otis, of Barnstable, and sister of the patriot, and died in 1805.

James Hovey, born in 1709, was son of Ivory Hovey, of Ipswich, and brother of the Rev. Ivory. He married, in 1735, Lydia, daughter of John Atwood. He lived in Plymouth in what is now the Central House, built by Nathaniel Clark, one of the Councillors of Andros, and son of Thomas Clark of the "Ann," 1623. (W. T. Davis's MS. notes.)

Thomas Mayhew, the father of Thomas, Jr., of the Club, was probably son of Jonathan, of Chilmark. He married, in 1740, Mary, daughter of Thomas Withereell, sometimes a guest of the Club, and had Mary, 1742; Thomas, 1744; Anna, 1746, and others. He was Naval Officer of the Port of Plymouth for several years, was a zealous Whig and a Justice of the Peace. On Feb. 11, 1778, a petition was addressed to him as Justice of the Peace by Andrew Croswell, "Clerk of the Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety for the Town of Plymouth," representing "that there is in the opinion of said Committee sufficient reason to suspect [twenty-one persons are here named] as inimical to the United States," and he is requested "to proceed immediately against the above-named persons agreeably to an Act of said State passed the present session of the General Court, entitled an Act for prescribing and establishing an oath of fidelity and allegiance." Mayhew accordingly issued his warrant to the sheriff to notify the several persons named to appear on the twelfth day of February to take the oath prescribed, which duty he performed. There was a large assemblage and considerable excitement. Dr. Thacher says that "the persons arrested were Tories, but highly respectable; they were treated with lenity, and having complied with the requirements of the law were liberated, and consequently found among our most peaceable and useful citizens." Among the persons named in the clerk's notice was Edward Winslow, who subsequently left the country and never returned. Three members of the Club had already

¹ This old chair is now in possession of Mrs. William Hedge, of Plymouth, in fine preservation.

1. To the memory of our brave and pious ancestors the first settlers of the Old Colony.

left the country or joined the enemy: Pelham Winslow, Edward Winslow, Jr., and Cornelius White. (Davis's Landmarks, p. 188; Thacher's Plymouth, 2d ed. pp. 207, 210.) For the Act of the State relating to Allegiance and Fidelity, giving the form of the oath, and also the Act of Proscription and Banishment, and prohibiting the return of nearly three hundred persons named in it, see "Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts," vol. v. pp. 912-917; and for the Act of Confiscation, p. 966 *et seq.*

William Watson, half-brother of George, was born in 1730, and graduated at Harvard College in 1751. His father, John, son of the first Elkanah, had married, in 1715, Sarah, daughter of Daniel Rogers, of Ipswich, by whom he had John and George; by a second wife, he had William and Elkanah. William, the subject of our notice, married, in 1756, Elizabeth, daughter of Benjamin Marston, of Manchester; and one of the children, Ellen, married Judge John Davis. He was ranked among the Whigs and patriots of the Revolution. In 1775 he was made by the Provincial Congress the first postmaster in the town. In 1782 he was appointed Naval Officer of the Port, and served until the adoption of the Constitution in 1789, and was then appointed, by Washington, Collector of the Port, and served until 1803. He died April 22, 1815. (See Thacher's Plymouth, p. 228; Davis's Landmarks.)

Gideon White, born in Marshfield in 1718, was great-grandson of Peregrine, and father of Cornelius of the Club, and of Gideon, Jr., who became a Refugee. He married Joanna Howland in 1744, and moved to Plymouth, where he died March 3, 1779. He was a zealous Loyalist, but remained in the country and took the oath of allegiance. The Whites and Winslows, all connected with Marshfield, were inclined to loyalty. Sabine gives an interesting account of the son Gideon, the Refugee, and of his descendants.

Elkanah Watson, son of John, was brother of William, and half-brother of George. He was born in 1732; married, in 1754, Patience, daughter of Benjamin Marston, of Manchester, and was father of Elkanah, commemorated in the volume "Men and Times of the Revolution, or Memoirs of Elkanah Watson," etc., 2d ed. 1857, and of Marston, an early member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, who was father of the late John Lee Watson, formerly Rector of Trinity Church in Boston. (Davis's Landmarks, and MS. notes.)

Thomas Davis, son of Thomas and Katherine Wendel, of Albany, was born in Albany in 1722; came to Plymouth in 1737 from North Carolina, where his father had moved, and became here an extensive merchant. He married, in 1753, Mercy, daughter of Barnabas Hedge, and was father of Sarah, Thomas, William, John, Samuel, Isaac P., and Wendell. He lived and died in Town Square, and he set out the elms, now so conspicuous there. He died in 1785. His grandson William, son of William, married Joanna, daughter of Capt. Gideon White, of Shelburne; and their children, Charles Gideon Davis and William Thomas Davis, now live in Plymouth.

Dr. Nathaniel Lothrop was brother of Isaac and Thomas Lothrop, President and Secretary of the Club, and was born in 1737; graduated at Harvard College in 1756; and before his death was, with the exception of Dr. Holyoke, the oldest graduate. He died Oct. 9, 1828, aged ninety-two. He is commemorated by Dr. Thacher in his History of Plymouth.

John Russell was a merchant from Grenock, Scotland, and married in Plymouth, in 1757, Mercy, daughter of Nathaniel Foster, and was the progenitor of the Russell family here. He was the grandfather of Dr. LeBaron Russell and

2. To the memory of John Carver and all the other worthy governors of the Old Colony.

3. To the memory of that pious man and faithful historian Mr. Secretary Morton.

4. To the memory of that brave man and good officer Cap^t Miles Standish.

5. To the memory of Massasoit, our first and best friend and ally of the natives.

6. To the memory of Mr. Robert Cushman, who preached the first sermon in New England.¹

7. The union of the Old Colony and the Massachusetts.

8. May every person be possessed of the same noble sentiments against arbitrary power that our worthy ancestors were endowed with.

great-grandfather of William G. Russell, now living in Plymouth. He died in Middleborough, and was there buried. (W. T. Davis's MS. notes)

Edward Clarke was a Boston gentleman who was on a visit to Plymouth at this time. He married Elizabeth Watson, daughter of John Watson, and sister of John of the Club.

Alexander Scammell became soon a member of the Club, and he is noticed with the other members in the remarks prefixed to the Records. A notice of Peleg Wadsworth appears at page 401, and of Mr. Howland on page 400.

¹ The sermon here attributed to Robert Cushman was first printed in London in 1622, as "A Sermon preached at Plimmoth in New-England December 9. 1621. in an assemblie of his Majesties faithfull subiects, there inhabiting," etc., with nothing to indicate its author or by whom it was preached. The next edition, so far as known, was published in Boston in 1724. The publisher's name is not given; but Prince wrote in his own copy, "By Mr. S. Kneeland." The title-page differs from that of the first edition, but no author or preacher is named. And Prince, who would have been more likely than any one else to furnish a copy of the first edition for Kneeland's use, nowhere, in print or manuscript, shows that he had such information. The third edition was published at Plymouth in 1785 by Coverly, who printed it from Kneeland's edition. In an Appendix to this Judge John Davis supplied a sketch of Cushman, and his name is printed on the title-page. In this sketch is published for the first time the information that Cushman was the preacher of the discourse. After speaking of Cushman's arrival in Plymouth in the "Fortune" on the 10th of November, returning on the 13th of December following, Judge Davis says: "During his short residence at Plymouth, though a mere lay character, he delivered the preceding discourse, which was printed in London in 1622, and afterwards reprinted in Boston in 1724. And though his name is not prefixed to either edition, yet unquestionable tradition renders it certain that he was the author, and even transmits to us a knowledge of the spot where it was delivered." In his edition of the Memorial, at page 74, Judge Davis says that Isaac Lothrop, Esq., often mentioned an intimation received from an aged relative that the sermon was delivered at the Common House of the plantation. It appears then that Isaac Lothrop was the depositary of the tradition; and the earliest announcement of it on record was made by him as President of the Old Colony Club at its first commemoration, seated in Governor Bradford's chair, — delivered in the form of a toast to the memory of Robert Cushman.

9. May every enemy to civil or religious liberty meet the same or a worse fate than Archbishop Laud.

10. May the Colonies be speedily delivered from all the burdens and oppressions they now labor under.

11. A speedy and lasting union between Great Britain and her Colonies.

12. Unanimity, prosperity, and happiness to the Colonies.

After spending the evening in an agreeable manner in recapitulating and conversing upon the many and various adventures of our forefathers in the first settlement of this country and the growth and increase of the same, at eleven o' the clock in the evening a caannon was again fired, three cheers given, and the Club and company withdrew.

At said meeting a motion was made for surveying and planning the road from Plymouth to Smelt Brook in Weymouth, and from thence back again through Abington the nearest road to Plymouth.

The Club thinking it of public utility to have a road nearer to the metropolis than the road commonly used, produced a paper to the company then present, to which the Old Colony Club had subscribed thirty shillings towards defraying the expenses of said survey, which being approved of, the gentlemen present subscribed certain sums as ^{the} original subscription. The Club then nominated their steward, M^r Elkanah Cushman, to be the surveyor, and he was unanimously chosen to that office by the company.¹

December 28. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Edward Winslow
Thomas Lothrop	Thomas Mayhew
John Thomas	Oakes Angier.

1770. January 3. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Elkanah Cushman
Pelham Winslow	Edward Winslow
Thomas Lothrop	John Watson &
	Cornelius White.

January 10. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Edward Winslow
Pelham Winslow	John Watson
Thomas Lothrop	Cornelius White &
Elkanah Cushman	Thomas Mayhew.
John Thomas	

Voted, That this meeting be adjourned to Saturday next, and that the steward notify the members to appear at the Hall at three o' the clock

¹ It is understood that the survey was made, and that the road was built, and is now part of the highway.

in the afternoon of said day, then and there to settle the annual accounts of the Club, and to do and transact such other business as shall then be thought necessary.

Quarterly Night.

January 13. At a meeting of Old Colony Club agreeable to the vote passed the 10th instant, present, all the members except M^r Angier.

The Steward presented his accounts for this quarter (which ends the first year), which, together with his account as Treasurer, amounts to 9. 1. 1

M ^r Isaac Lothrop	} being chosen a committee to examine said accounts, reported
Edward Winslow &	
John Watson	

That said accounts were right cast and well vouched, and that there remains a balance to the Club in the hands of the steward of 2. 13. 2½, which is to be carried to the credit of next quarter.

M^r Thomas Lothrop was chosen Secretary to the Club for the ensuing year.¹

Voted, That each member (instead of depositing half pistareen each Club night, agreeable to a vote the 15th of November) shall deposit one pistareen and a half, and that the occasional members shall be under the same regulations as was at that time established.

January 17. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.
Present, all the members but M^r Angier.

January 24. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.
Present, all the members but M^r Thomas and M^r Angier.

January 31. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.
Present, all the members except M^r Angier.

February 7. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.
Present, all the members except M^r Watson.

General Winslow	Josiah Sturtevant Jun ^r Esq ^r	} By invitation.
William Watson Esq ^r	Cap ^t Christopher White	
Cap ^t Elkanah Watson	M ^r Bryant	
Doctor Nath ^l Lothrop	T. S. Howland	
M ^r M. A. Warwell		

¹ This is the only record of the election of Thomas Lothrop as Secretary, yet he probably held that office from the start; and though the handwriting is not uniform throughout, the greater part of it is undoubtedly from his pen. There is no record, either, of the election of Isaac Lothrop as President; but the fact that he held that office is well understood.

February 8. This evening was read at the Hall the "Provoked Husband," a comedy, by M^r M. A. Warwel, to a company of about forty gentlemen and ladies, by invitation of the Club.¹

February 14. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.
Present, all the members but M^r Angier and M^r Watson.
M^r M. A. Warwel by invitation.

February 21. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.
Present, all the members but Mr. Angier.
M^r M. A. Warwell by invitation.

February 28. At a Meeting of the Old Colony Club.
Present, all the members except M^r President and M^r Watson.

March 7. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.
Present, all the members except M^r Angier.
Cap^t Elk^a Watson } By invitation.
Cap^t Thos. Nicholson }

March 14. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.
Present, all the members except M^r Angier, M^r Thomas, and Tho^s Mayhew.
Cap^t Simeon Samson by invitation.

March 21. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.
Present, all the members except Mess^{rs} Thomas, Watson, and Angier.
Cap^t Elkanah Watson } By invitation.
Doctor Nathaniel Lothrop }

March 28. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.
Present, all the members except M^r Angier.
Cap^t Watson } By invitation.
M^r Ephraim Spooner }

Major Ebenezer Miller of Brantree having (by the hand of our brother Thomas) presented to this Club an ancient Sachem wig and pipe, Voted, That the thanks of the Club be presented him therefor, and that Mess^{rs} Pelham Winslow, Thomas Lothrop, and Edward Winslow be a committee for that purpose.

¹ "The Provoked Husband, or Journey to London," was one of Colley Cibber's newly vamped plays, published in 1727, originally written and left unfinished by Sir John Vanbrugh.

April 4. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	John Watson	} Members.
Pelham Winslow	Cornelius White	
Thomas Lothrop	&	
Elkanah Cushman	Thomas Mayhew	

Quarterly Night.

April 11. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members.

Cap ^t Watson	} By invitation.
M ^r Gershom Burr	
M ^r Edward Pope	

M^r Steward presented his account for the last quarter ending this night, by which it appears there is a balance in his hands to be carried to the credit of the next quarter 1. 18. 4½

April 18. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Thomas Lothrop	John Watson	} Members.
Elkanah Cushman	Thomas Mayhew	
Edward Winslow		
M ^r Gershom Burr by invitation.		

April 25. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members except M^r Ed: Winslow and M^r Oakes Angier.¹

Cap^t Elkanah Watson and M^r Gershom Burr by invitation.

May 2. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members except Mess^{rs} Ed: Winslow and Oakes Angier.
M^r John Russell by invitation.

May 9. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members except M^r Pelham Winslow and M^r Angier.
Cap^t Elkanah Watson by invitation.

May 16. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members.

Timothy Folger Esq ^r	Nathan Cushing Esq ^r	} By invitation.
John Adams Esq ^r ²	D ^r Charles Stockbridge	
Rob ^t Treat Paine Esq ^r	&	
Daniel Leonard Esq ^r	M ^r Seth Williams J ^r ³	

¹ Capt. White sailed. — *Side note.*

² Mr. Adams speaks in his Diary of his occasional visits to Plymouth, but he has no mention of the Old Colony Club. His presence here, no doubt, as well as

³ Brother Mayhew sailed. — *Side note.*

May 23. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Pelham Winslow	} Members.
Tho ^t Lothrop	
Ed Winslow Jr.	
John Thomas	

May 30. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present, all members except White, Mayhew, and Angier.

June 6. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members except occasional.

June 13. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present, all the standing members.

Doctor Lazarus Le Baron	Doctor Nathaniel Lothrop	} By invitation.
William Watson Esq ^r	M ^r John Russell	
Cap ^t Elkanah Watson	Cap ^t Abraham Hammatt	

June 20. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present, all standing members but M^r President.

Cap ^t Elkanah Watson	} By invitation.
M ^r John Russell	
M ^r Ephraim Spooner	
Cap ^t Abraham Hammatt	

June 27. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	John Thomas	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	John Watson &	
Elkanah Cushman	Oakes Angier	
M ^r John Russell & Abraham Hammatt Jun.		} By invitation.

July 4. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members.

Benjamin Kent	} By invitation.
Robert Treat Paine	
Daniel Leonard	
Nathan Cushing Esq ^{res}	

that of his legal companions, from time to time, was for attendance upon the courts of law. Mr. Adams records a visit to Plymouth, 22 May, 1771: "Wednesday. At Plymouth; put up at Witherell's, near the county-house; lodged with Mr. Angier, where we had a chamber wholly to ourselves — very still and retired, very serene and happy. Mrs. Howland and her family, I hear, are very much grieved and hurt and concerned about my passing by their house. But my health is my excuse for all removals. I am not strong enough to bear the smoke and dirt and noise of Howland's, and their late hours at night." (Works, vol. ii. p. 263.)

It being observed to this Club by our brother Angier that our friend Col^d Stephen Miller of Milton had met with a great misfortune by losing his house, furniture, etc., by fire, and we being willing (as far as we are able) to relieve the distressed, have voted to subscribe the sum of ten guineas to be paid to our Steward, and by him to said Miller.

Quarterly Night.

July 11. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Edward Winslow	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	John Watson	
Elk ^d Cushman		

M^r Arodi Thayer by invitation.

The Steward presented his account for last quarter, by which there appears to be balance of 10/ in his hands to be carried to credit of next quarter.

July 18. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Elkanah Cushman	} Members.
John Watson	
John Thomas	
Edward Winslow	

M^r Abraham Hammatt, Jun^r, by invitation.

July 25. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Edward Winslow	} Members.
Pelham Winslow	Elkanah Cushman	
John Thomas	John Watson	

Cap^t Thomas Nicolson and M^r Abraham Hammatt Jun^r, by invitation.

August 1. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Elkanah Cushman	} [Members.]
Pelham Winslow	Oakes Angier	
Thomas Lothrop		

August 8. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Elkanah Cushman	} Members.
Pelham Winslow	Edward Winslow	
Thomas Lothrop	John Watson	

Ben Marston, Esq^r, W^m Watson, Esq^r, Cap^t Elk^d Watson.

August 15. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Elkanah Cushman	} Members.
Pelham Winslow	John Watson	
Thomas Lothrop		

Major Ebenezer Miller by invitation.

August 22. The Club absent, all hands at the Gurnet.¹

August 29. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Elkanah Cushman	} Members.
Pelham Winslow	Edward Winslow	
Thomas Lothrop	John Watson	

M^r John Russell and M^r Sturgis Gorham by invitation.

September 5. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Edward Winslow	} Members.
Pelham Winslow	John Watson	
Thomas Lothrop	Thomas Mayhew	
Elkanah Cushman		

September 12. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Elkanah Cushman	} Members.
Pelham Winslow	Edward Winslow	
Thomas Lothrop	John Watson	

Cap^t Watson and Col^o Stephen Miller by invitation.

September 19. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Pelham Winslow	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	Oakes Angier	
John Watson		

M^r John Russell and M^r South Howland by invitation.

September 26. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	John Thomas	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	John Watson	
Elkanah Cushman		

M^r Melatiah Lothrop, Col^o Watson, M^r Wadsworth, Cap^t Watson, and D^r Lothrop by invitation.

¹ A lighthouse had been erected at the Gurnet by the Province of Massachusetts in 1768, and the place was resorted to by excursionists. The name "Gurnet" is said to have come from the name of a headland in the English Channel. (See Russell's Pilgrim Memorials, p. 165; Davis's Landmarks, pt. i. p. 151.)

October 3. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	John Thomas	} Members.
Pelham Winslow	Edward Winslow	
Thomas Lothrop	John Watson &	
Elkanah Cushman	Oakes Angier	

Robert Treat Paine, Esq^r, Daniel Leonard, Esq^r, and Nathan Cushing, Esq^r, by invitation.

Quarterly Night.

October 10. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	John Thomas	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	John Watson &	
Elk ^s Cushman	Ed. Winslow	

M^r Steward presents his account for last quarter, by which there stands a balance in favor of the Club of £4. 18.

October 17. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Pelham Winslow, Elkanah Cushman, and Thomas Mayhew.
By invitation, Cap^t Abraham Hammatt.

October 24. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	John Thomas	} Members.
Pelham Winslow	Edward Winslow	
Thomas Lothrop	&	
Elkanah Cushman	Thomas Mayhew	

By invitation, Cap^t Elkanah Watson and Cap^t Benjamin Bowers.

October 31. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members.

November 8. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members except E. Winslow and J. Thomas.¹

November 15. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members except Ed: Winslow and J. Thomas.

M^r Samuel White of Marblehead by invitation.

November 22. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members.

William Watson Esq ^r	M ^r Tho ^s Banister of Newport	} By invitation.
Cap ^t Gideon White	M ^r Lothrop of Norwich	
D ^r Charles Stockbridge	D ^r Nath ^l Lothrop	
Cap ^t Elk ^s Watson	M ^r John Russell	
James Warren Esq ^r	& Thomas South: Howland	

¹ Brother White returned. — *Side note.*

November 29. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members except Angier.

Mess^{rs} John Banister, Thomas Bannister, and John Russell by invitation.

December 5. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members except Brother Ed: Winslow and Brother Angier.

Cap^t Watson, M^r Eph^m Spooner, and Ab^m Hammatt, Jun^r, invited.

December 12. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members.

Benj^t Kent Esq^r

Rob^t Treat Paine Esq^r

Daniel Leonard Esq^r

Mess^{rs} Samuel White

&

Elisha Lord

} [By
invitation.]

December 19. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members except M^r Angier and M^r Mayhew, at which time and meeting it was agreed upon and resolved that the twenty-second day of December, being the day of the first landing of our pious forefathers in this town, and which has been kept as a solemn festival in commemoration of the heroic transaction, falling in this year upon Saturday, being an unsuitable time for that purpose, it was therefore resolved that Monday the 24th of this instant be set apart and religiously kept for that purpose.

December 22d Celebrated.

December 24. The Old Colony Club, being sensible of the infinite obligations they are under to their pious ancestors the first settlers of Plymouth Colony, having maturely determined at their last meeting to celebrate this twenty-fourth day of December in commemoration of that period which landed those progenitors safely on this American shore, after having endured the persecution of enemies, the perils of an unknown ocean, the crosses of fortune, and innumerable difficulties and hazard attending such emigrants.

The morning of the day gave such general joy and satisfaction to their descendants in this place that, notwithstanding the severity of the season, as soon as light appeared a company of grateful youths paraded our streets, and with cannon and volleys of small arms aroused the town from their slumbers. At ten o'clock the members of the Club (being joined by Mess^{rs} Alexander Scammel and Peleg Wadsworth B.A.) assembled at the house of M^r Howland, an innholder in Plymouth, and at twelve were

joined by the following gentlemen; namely, Thomas Foster,¹ James Hovey, George Watson, and James Warren, Esq^r, Cap^t Elkanah Watson and Doct^r Nathaniel Lothrop of Plymouth, and the Hon^{ble} William Sever, Esq^r, of Kingston, where, after having amused themselves in conversation upon the history of emigrate colonies and the constitution

¹ A brief notice will here be made of those persons not already mentioned in these notes, who united with the Club in this celebration:—

Thomas Foster, the son of John, who was one of the deacons of the First Church of Plymouth, was born in 1704, and died of the small-pox in 1777. He was an active speculator in real estate, and a Loyalist; and though, according to Sabine and other authority, he went off in 1776, he returned and died here. (See Davis's Landmarks, pt. i. p. 188; Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. xviii. p. 267.)

Of William Sever, Dr. Thacher in his History, pp. 195, 196, gives the following interesting sketch: "Hon. William Sever resided in Kingston, and died in 1809, aged seventy-nine years. This gentleman ought to be held in remembrance as a man of high standing in society. He was, in principle, a staunch Whig, and our country was benefited by his influence and example during the Revolution. The late President Adams once spoke of him as the 'salt of the earth.' The late Dr. Dwight, in his Journal of Travels, in that part of the country which relates to the Old Colony, observes that 'Mr. Sever was the most respectable and worthy character he had known.' He was for many years Judge of Probate for the county of Plymouth. But I venerated him the more on account of the remarkable similarity in his person and appearance to General Washington. The resemblance in erect form and in dignity of manners was so peculiarly striking that the comparison was almost perfect, and my interviews with him brought to my mind the most delightful recollections."

Edward Winslow, Sen., father of Edward, Jr., of the Club, was the younger brother of General John. He was born in Marshfield in 1714, a son of Isaac, and married Hannah, daughter of Thomas Howland. He was Collector of Plymouth, Register of Wills, and Clerk of the Court of Pleas before the troubles of the Revolution; but he was at an early day conspicuous for his zealous assertion of the royal prerogative, and he opposed the action of the Whigs. He remained at Plymouth till 1781, but was closely watched. A touching incident is related by Elkanah Watson, in his "Men and Times of the Revolution," as occurring in 1776. Edward Winslow, Jr., was serving as aid to the British commander in Rhode Island during its occupation by the British. His father and sister came on to Providence, where Watson was stationed, for the purpose of procuring an interview if possible with his son. After some effort their request was granted, the interview to take place on one of the islands in Narragansett Bay. It was witnessed by Watson, who had contributed to bring it about, and by other officials. He says that "the spectacle was too sacred and affecting to be gazed upon, . . . and we walked aside in silence and respect." Though deprived of his offices and looked upon with suspicion, Mr. Winslow continued to live in Plymouth until December, 1781, when with part of his family he went to New York, the rest joining him soon afterwards. Sir Henry Clinton allowed him a pension of £200 per annum, with rations and fuel. On Aug. 30, 1783, with his wife, two daughters, and three black servants, he embarked from New York, and on September 14 reached Halifax. About the year 1755 he built and, until he left Plymouth, occupied the house in which the Rev. G. W. Briggs now lives. His property was not confiscated, but was sold under attachment to pay debts. He died in Halifax on the 8th of June, 1784, aged seventy-two years. (W. T. Davis's MS. notes; Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. xxiii. p. 93.)

Dr. Lazarus LeBaron was son of Dr. Francis LeBaron, the first of the name

and declension of empires, ancient and modern, they were served with an entertainment foreign from all kind of luxury, and consisting of fish, flesh, and vegetables, the natural produce of this Colony; after which, the company being increased by Edward Winslow, Esq^r, Doctor Lazarus LeBaron, William Watson, Esq^r, Thomas Mayhew, Esq^r, Deacon John Torrey, Cap^t Theophilus Cotton, Cap^t Abraham Hammatt, M^r Ephraim Spooner, and M^r John Crandon, a number of toasts were drank grateful to the remembrance of our ancestors, and loyal to those kings under whose indulgent care this Colony has flourished and been protected. From which house the Club, together with the before-mentioned gentlemen, being escorted by a select company well skilled in the military arts, walked in decent procession to Old Colony Hall, in the course of which they were met and attended upon by a company of children from the age of five to the age of twelve, whose natural ingenuity and the care and attention of their master had rendered them almost perfect military disciplinarians, — a scene that excited the admiration of every spectator. Upon their arrival at the door of the Hall the whole company entered the room, being introduced by the Steward and complimented by the Club and the escort, by whom was performed a variety of manœuvres and firings, to the great satisfaction of every person present. When the sun had set and the military gentlemen had dispersed, the Old

in Plymouth, and was born in 1698. He studied medicine, and had an extensive practice in Plymouth and its vicinity, and died in 1773, aged seventy-five years.

Deacon John Torrey, son of Haviland, was born in 1717, and married in 1751 Mary Tilley, of Boston. He was great-grandfather of Henry Warren Torrey, of Harvard University.

Captain Theophilus Cotton, a descendant of the Rev. John of Boston, was son of Josiah, and was born in 1716. He married, in 1742, Martha Sanders, and had a number of children. He followed the sea; and a letter of instructions addressed to him in 1760 as master of the schooner "Four Friends," by Edward Winslow and others, the owners, will be found in *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, vol. xxii. pp. 229, 230.

Captain Abraham Hammatt married, in 1748, a daughter of Consider Howland; and his son Abraham, Jr., born in 1750, married, in 1774, Priscilla, daughter of Lazarus LeBaron. The son while yet a minor in age frequently attended the meetings of the Club by invitation.

Ephraim Spooner, son of Thomas, was born in 1735, and died March 22, 1818. He is affectionately commemorated by Dr. Thacher in his *History*. He knew Elder Faunce, who was born in 1646 and died in 1745, and has perpetuated from him interesting traditions concerning the Rock on which the Pilgrims landed. (See Thacher's *History*, p. 229; and Russell's *Guide*, p. 177.)

John Crandon, born in England, first settled in Dartmouth, married Jean Bess, born in Scotland, and had a large family of children; one son, John, born in 1726, died in the West Indies.

The Rev. Chandler Robbins was born in Bradford, Connecticut, graduated at Yale College in 1756, and was settled over the ancient church and congregation in Plymouth Jan. 30, 1760. He died in Plymouth, June 30, 1799, after a ministry of thirty-nine years, aged sixty-one.

Colony flag was struck, the cannon fired, and the company in the Hall were joined by the Rev.^d Chandler Robbins, pastor of the First Church of Christ in Plymouth.

In order to remind us of the debt of gratitude we owe to our God and to our ancestors, the following words were spoken with modesty and decent firmness by a member of the Club:¹ —

When I recollect that about one century and a half since a few worthies in the island of Great Britain, persecuted and tormented by the wicked aspiring *Great* for thinking freely, and for acting with the same dignity and freedom with which they thought (although their sentiments and conduct were conformed to the laws of the society in which they lived, contrary to the common case of suffering humanity, which frequently sinks in proportion to the power exerted against it), did dare, in defiance of their persecutors, to form themselves into one body for the common safety and protection of all (an engagement which, though founded on the true and genuine principles of religion and virtue, unhappy experience taught them was too weak and insecure a barrier against the arts and stratagems of such potent adversaries); when we recollect that under these melancholy circumstances, having no other resort to preserve the purity of their minds, they abandoned their native country, their friends, their fortunes and connections, and transported themselves to the city of Leyden with the most sanguine hopes of a protection which the island had refused to afford them; when we recollect that persecution from another quarter rendered their situation in the States of Holland equally as perplexed and disagreeable, — how am I astonished that such repeated disappointments had not rendered them too weak ever to make another attempt! But when we view them rising from these misfortunes with tenfold vigor, and upon the same virtuous principles crossing the Atlantic with the dearest companions of life, their wives, their helpless offspring exposed to the roughness of the ocean, to the inclemencies of the climate, and all their attendant evils, and landing, in the tempestuous month of December, upon an unknown shore, inhabited by men more fierce than beasts of prey, and scarce deserving to be called human, natural enemies to their virtue and morality, with whom they are obliged to wage an immediate and unequal war for their defence and safety; when we view them under all the disadvantages naturally attendant upon a state of sickness and poverty defending themselves against savage cruelties, and still persevering in their virtuous resolution, establishing their religion in this desert, forming a code of laws wisely adapted to their circumstances, and planting a colony which through Divine Goodness has flourished and become an important branch to that body which caused their emigration,

¹ This was Edward Winslow, Jr., now twenty-four years of age.

— how am I lost in amazement, and to what cause can we ascribe these deliverances and salvation, but to that Almighty Being who orders all events for the benefit of mankind, whose ways are to us unsearchable, and whose doings are past our finding out ! Upon a recollection of all these things, it is not to be wondered that we, the sons and descendants from such illustrious ancestors, upon this 22d of December are assembled upon the very spot on which they landed, to commemorate this period, the most important that the annals of America can boast, — a period which I doubt not every person here present esteems an honor as well as his incumbent duty gratefully to remember. And while we feel for the misfortunes and calamities of those our pious ancestors, the consequences of which to us are so delightful and glorious, let us also admire and adore their virtue, their patience, their fortitude, and their heroism, and continue to commemorate it annually. This virtue is undoubtedly rewarded with joys which no tongue can utter, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive ; and if we their sons act from the same principles, and conduct with the same noble firmness and resolution when our holy religion or our civil liberties are invaded, we may expect a reward proportionate, for such principles render the soul tranquil and easy under all the misfortunes and calamities to which human nature is exposed ; and of him who is possessed of them the poet with propriety says : —

“ Should the whole frame of Nature round him break,
In ruin and confusion hurled,
He, unconcerned, would hear the mighty crack,
And stand secure amidst a falling world.”

In addition to the satisfaction which the company expressed upon hearing these speculations, the following song, composed for this occasion, was sung by the Club, which concluded the evening.

*Song.*¹

(SET TO THE TUNE OF THE BRITISH HERO.)

All hail the day that ushers in
The period of revolving time,
In which our sires of glorious fame
Bravely through toils and dangers came,
Novanglia's wilds to civilize,
And wild disorder harmonize ;
To plant Britannia's arts and arms, —
Plenty, peace, freedom, pleasing charms.

¹ This was written by Alexander Scammell.

Derived from British rights and laws
That justly merit our applause,
Darlings of Heaven, heroes brave,
You still shall live though in the grave, —

Live, live within each grateful breast,
With reverence for your names possessed;
Your praises on our tongues shall dwell,
And sires to sons your actions tell.

Ye distant poles their praise resound;
Let virtue be with glory crowned;
Ye dreary wilds, each rock and cave,
Echo the virtues of the brave.

They nobly braved their indigence,
Death, famine, sword, and pestilence;
Each toil, each danger they endured,
Till for their sons they had procured

A fertile soil profusely blest
With Nature's stores, and now possessed
By sons who gratefully revere
Our fathers' names and memories dear.

Plymouth, the great mausoleum,
Famous for our forefathers' tomb!
Join, join the chorus, one and all,
Resound their deeds in Colony Hall!

December 26. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	John Watson	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	Cornelius White	
Elkanah Cushman	Oakes Angier	
Edward Winslow		

Received a card from James Warren, Esq^r, desiring the Club's company to dine with him on New Year's day.

1771, January 2. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members but Mess^{rs} Angier and Mayhew.

General Winslow	Cap ^t Gideon White	} By invitation.
Edward Winslow Esq ^r	Doctor Nathaniel Lothrop	
Nath. Ray Thomas Esq ^r		

Edward Winslow, Esq^r, invites the Club to dine with him to-morrow.

January 9. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members except Mess^{rs} Angier and Mayhew.

Received a card from Doctor Lothrop for the Club to dine to-morrow.

January 16. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members except Mess^{rs} Angier and Mayhew.

Cap^t Elkanah Watson by invitation.

And after Cap^t Watson had withdrawn, the following votes were passed; namely,—

1. Voted, That M^r Thomas Lothrop shall for the present quarter be the treasurer.

2. Voted, That the Club lend M^r Elkanah Cushman twenty pounds, he giving security to the President for the use of the Club.

3. Voted, That in consideration of the faithful discharge of his duty as steward and treasurer, the Club present M^r Cushman with a suit of clothes.

4. Voted, That this Club be adjourned to next Friday night, to take an estimate of M^r Cushman, of what necessities he is in immediate want of in his business, and advance the money.

January 18. At a meeting of Old Colony Club agreeable to a vote the last Club night.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Elkanah Cushman	} Members.
Pelham Winslow	&	
Thomas Lothrop	John Watson	

M^r Cushman presented his estimate, and the money was advanced according to a vote last Club night.

January 23. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members except M^r Mayhew.

Y ^e Hon ^{ble} James Otis, Esq ^r	Cap ^t Elkanah Watson	} By invitation.
James Warren, Esq ^r	Doctor Nathaniel Lothrop	
Benjamin Marston, Esq.	Mr. Samuel Allyne Otis	
William Watson, Esq ^r		

January 30. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members except Mess^{rs} Pelham Winslow, Angier, and Mayhew.

William Watson, Esq^r, Cap^t Tarbox of Newbury, and Cap^t Simeon Samson, gentlemen by invitation.

February 6. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Pelham Winslow	Edward Winslow	} Members.
Tho ^s Lothrop	John Watson	
Elk ^s Cushman	&	
John Thomas	Cornelius White	

February 13. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members but the President, Angier, and Mayhew.

February 20. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members but President, Angier, and Mayhew.

By invitation, Cap^t Job Williams of Taunton.

February 27. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members but the President, Angier, and Mayhew.

March 6. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members but the President, Angier, and Mayhew.

M^r Benjamin Call of Charlestown and M^r Isaac Symmes, by invitation.

March 13. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members but Mess^{rs} President, Tho^t Lothrop, Angier, and Mayhew.

Cap^t Simeon Samson, by invitation.

March 20. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members but Mess^{rs} President, White, Angier, and Mayhew.

M^r Bartlet LeBaron and Cap^t Charles Dyer, by invitation.

March 27. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present, all the members but Mess^{rs} White, Angier, and Mayhew.

Cap^t Watson and Doctor Lothrop by invitation.

At an occasional meeting of the Old Colony Club, Dec. 20, 1771.

Present: M ^r President	John Thomas	} Members.
Pelham Winslow	Edward Winslow	
Thomas Lothrop	John Watson	
Elkanah Cushman		

Whereas the records of this Club have by accident been neglected from the 27th of March last to this time, and no remarkable event or new regulation having taken place, Voted. —

That the Secretary for the future shall continue the records as formerly, and from this time make the entries at every meeting of the Club.

Vote 2. That Monday next be kept as a day of festivity in commemoration of the landing of our ancestors in this place.

M^r Alexander Scammel, M.A., having manifested a desire to be admitted a member of this Club, it was unanimously voted that the said Alexander Scammel be and hereby he is admitted.

December 23. Monday the 23d of December, agreeable to a vote of Old Colony Club passed at an occasional meeting, was celebrated as a day of festivity in commemoration of that important event, *The landing of our forefathers in this place*. In the morning, as has been usual on this occasion, a cannon was discharged and the flag hoisted on the Hall. At noon the Club, being joined by a number of the most respectable gentlemen in town, met in a spacious room at the house of M^r Wethrell, innholder, when they partook of a plain and elegant entertainment, and spent the afternoon in cheerful and social conversation upon a variety of subjects peculiarly adapted to the time. At sunset, upon a signal given by a discharge of cannon and striking the flag, the members of the Club, with the gentlemen of the town, repaired to the Hall, where the aforesaid subjects were reassumed, and several important matters relative to the conduct of our ancestors were discussed with freedom and candor, and a number of pleasing anecdotes of our progenitors were recollected and communicated by some of the aged and venerable gentlemen who favored us with their company. An uncommon harmony and pleasantry prevailed throughout the day and evening, every person present exerting himself to increase the general joy. The Old Colony song with a number of others was sung, after which the company withdrew. A letter from the Rev. M^r Robbins was communicated by the President, and is as follows:—

PLYMOUTH, Dec. 23, 1771.

GENTLEMEN,—I'm told it was expected by some that as the anniversary of our forefathers' arrival in this place fell out on the Sabbath past, I would have taken some public notice of it in the pulpit. I must acknowledge I think there would have been a great propriety in it, and I am very sorry it was entirely out of my mind that *that* was the day till I was reminded of it to-day; otherwise I should certainly have taken notice of it, and attempted to say something suitable to the occasion. However, 't is past now; but I would on this occasion, if it would not be esteemed assuming in me, humbly propose to the gentlemen of your Society whether it would not be agreeable, and serve for the entertainment and instruction of the rising generation more especially, for the future on these anniversaries to have a sermon in public some part of the day peculiarly adapted to the occasion, wherein should be represented the motives that induced them to undertake such an enterprise, the amazing dangers and difficulties they conflicted with and overcame, the piety and ardor with which they persevered through numberless discouragements and opposition, the time, manner, and other circumstances of their first arrival, with all the train of surprising events that ensued, the appearances of the Divine Providence and Goodness for them, the noble and godlike vir-

tues with which they were inspired, so worthy the imitation of their posterity, etc., etc., with many other things that would naturally fall in upon a discourse of this kind. I mention this, gentlemen, the more freely, because I remember it was spoken of in conversation by some of the gentlemen of your company the evening of the last anniversary. I do *but* propose the thing, gentlemen, for your consideration this evening, and if it should prove agreeable I would beg leave to suggest one thing further; namely, that the minister to preach the sermon be chosen by your Society somewhere *within the Old Colony*, and I doubt not any gentleman whom you should choose for that purpose would very willingly consent in order to encourage so good a design.

And now, gentlemen, I rest assured that your candor and generosity is such that you will not construe what I have offered in an unfavorable light, either as being dictatorial or seeming to desire myself the office of a speaker on such occasion, which I can sincerely say is far from being true. I propose it for the instruction and entertainment of ourselves and posterity. The plan, if it should be agreeable, would afford us opportunity to hear these matters discoursed on by a great variety of ministers, who would doubtless take pains to furnish themselves with entertaining and useful materials for the occasion. And for this end, if they were appointed at each anniversary for the next year, they would have so much the better opportunity to prepare. Submitting the matter to your consideration, I am, gentlemen, with much regard,

Your friend and very humble servant,

CHANDLER ROBBINS.

Voted, That Mess^{rs} Pelham Winslow, Edward Winslow, Jr, and Alexander Scammel should be a committee to prepare an answer to the above letter, which they are to lay before the Club as soon as may be.

December 25. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club were present:—

Isaac Lothrop	Elkanah Cushman	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	Edward Winslow	
John Thomas	Alexander Scammel	

1772, January 1. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club were present:—

Isaac Lothrop	Edward Winslow	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	John Watson	
John Thomas	Alexander Scammel	
Elkanah Cushman		

Cap^t Gideon White by invitation.

January 8. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Jn ^o Thomas	} Members.
Pelham Winslow	Edward Winslow	
Thomas Lothrop	John Watson &	
Elk ^a Cushman	Alexand ^r Scammel	

January 7. Mess^{rs} Pelham Winslow, Edward Winslow, and Alexander Scammell, the committee chosen the 23d, reported an answer to the Rev^d M^r Robbins's letter, which was approved and accordingly forwarded by the Club, and is as follows:—

REVEREND AND RESPECTED SIR,— We have carefully perused the contents of your letter of the 23d instant; but before we proceed to a particular answer thereto we think it necessary to observe that the members of this Society, who weekly meet together for the mutual advantage of each other, to enjoy the refined pleasures of social and unrestrained conversation unalloyed with the disputes and contentions of parties, having taken into consideration that the celebrating certain days of each year upon which any remarkable event or extraordinary transaction has happened is a practice which has the sanction of antiquity for its justification, finding frequent instances of it in *sacred* as well as profane, in ancient as well as modern history, not only among nations, states, and churches, but even in particular societies and corporations, we were not a little surprised that an event so important and glorious in its consequences as the landing of our ancestors in this place should be totally neglected by their descendants. Considering further that the assembling a number of persons of different ages for the purpose of commemorating this *truly* remarkable period would have a natural and direct tendency to introduce subjects for conversation relative to our illustrious progenitors and the history of our country; the aged upon those days would with freedom communicate to the youth those circumstances which had happened within *their* memories, and those also which had been casually related to them by their predecessors; by these means many pleasing and curious anecdotes of our pious forefathers which have escaped the pens of historians would be snatched from oblivion and descend to posterity; and while we with pleasure and gratitude were recollecting and admiring their virtues, — their patience, their piety, their heroism, and their fortitude, — we might be incited to follow their worthy examples.

These, sir, were the principal motives by which we were actuated, whatever the malice and envy of some might suggest to the contrary, when we proposed to celebrate this anniversary, and we were pleased with the expectation of being joined by many of the respectable members

of the Old Colony; and from a consciousness of the rectitude of our intentions, and the benefit that might result to us and others from this institution, we flattered ourselves that *even* the reverend gentlemen of the clergy would give a sanction to it by honoring us with their presence.

Our expectations have been in part answered, and we esteem ourselves under the greatest obligations to you, sir, for proposing a mode of celebration for the future so exactly correspondent with our most sanguine wishes and expectations as that of "having a sermon preached on this *solemn* as well as *important* occasion." We concur with you "that it would be agreeable, and serve for the entertainment and instruction of the rising generation;" and we are of opinion that the motives and inducements of our religious forefathers for undertaking so dangerous an enterprise as the settlement of this Colony, the amazing difficulties they encountered and overcame, the true vital piety and ardor with which they persevered, their sincere desire to advance the Christian religion, and other their noble and godlike virtues, are subjects that ought to be minutely discussed and solemnized by the sacred oratory of the pulpit.

We have endeavored to deserve the compliments which you have been pleased to pay us by construing your letter "with generosity and candor." We neither esteem it "dictatorial," nor as "desiring yourself the office of a speaker on this occasion." We have impatiently waited for a proposal of this kind to be made to some gentleman of the clergy by persons whose ages and situations and life have given them greater influence than ourselves; but as it has been hitherto omitted, we would modestly request (as you are the pastor of the first church that was gathered in the Old Colony, have the greatest advantages and opportunities for collecting all the *historical facts* and other materials that may be necessary for this work, and in every other respect are peculiarly qualified therefor) that you would upon the ensuing anniversary prepare and deliver a discourse "suitable to the time." And in complying with this our request we trust that you will not only render a singular service to the public, but will oblige many of the respectable inhabitants of the Old Colony, and in particular the members of this Society.

We are with the most unfeigned respect and gratitude,

Your sincere friends and obedient servants,

THE OLD COLONY CLUB.

FROM OLD COLONY HALL, Dec. 31, 1771.

REV^d CHANDLER ROBBINS.

Voted, That the Club be adjourned to next Friday night, in order for settlement of the year's accounts.

1772. January 15. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Pelham Winslow	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	Elk ^s Cushman	
John Thomas	Edward Winslow	
John Watson	Alexander Scammel	
Cap ^t Gideon White	} By invitation.	
M ^r John Russell		
D ^r Charles Stockbridge		
Cap ^t Job Williams		

January 22. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club. Present the same members as last Club night. Cap^t Samuel Adams by invitation.

January 29. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Pelham Winslow	} Members.
Tho ^s Lothrop	
John Thomas	
John Watson	
Thomas Mayhew	
Cap ^t Samuel Adams by invitation.	

February 5. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Pelham Winslow	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	Elkanah Cushman	
John Thomas	Edward Winslow	
John Watson	Thomas Mayhew	
Cap ^t Thomas Matthews	} By invitation.	
Cap ^t Samuel Adams		

February 12. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Thomas Lothrop	} Members.
Elk ^s Cushman	John Thomas	
Edw ^d Winslow	John Watson	
Tho ^s Mayhew	Alex ^s Scamell	
Cap ^t Adams by invitation.		

February 19. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Pelham Winslow	Tho ^s Lothrop	} Members.
Elk ^s Cushman	John Thomas	
Edward Winslow	John Watson	
Alexander Scamell	Tho ^s Mayhew	
Cap ^t Adams by invitation.		

February 26. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Pelham Winslow	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	John Thomas	
Edward Winslow	John Watson	
Alexander Scammel		

Cap^t Adams by invitation.

March 4. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Pelham Winslow	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	Elk ^a Cushman	
John Thomas	Edward Winslow	
John Watson	Thomas Mayhew	
Alexander Scammel		

Cap^t Adams by invitation; who has this night manifested an inclination to join the Club, which matter is to be taken into consideration the next Club night.

March 11. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Pelham Winslow	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	Elk ^a Cushman	
John Thomas	Edward Winslow	
John Watson	Thomas Mayhew	
Alex ^r Scammel		

Cap ^t Kellom	} Gentlemen by invitation.
M ^r Tilestone	
Cap ^t Cornell	
Cap ^t Adams	

This day Cap^t Kellom presented a turtle to the Club, upon which the members, together with the above-named gentlemen, dined at Cap^t Cotton's.

March 18. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Pelham Winslow
Thomas Lothrop	Elk ^a Cushman
Edward Winslow	John Watson
Alex ^r Scammel	Thos. Mayhew

Cap^t Adams by invitation.

March 25. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Pelham Winslow	} Members.
Tho ^t Lothrop	Elk ^a Cushman	
Edward Winslow	John Thomas	
Thomas Mayhew	Alexander Scammell	
John Watson		

Agreeable to a vote passed the 4th of March instant, Cap^t Samuel Adams was admitted a member of this Club.

April 1. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Pelham Winslow	
Tho ^t Lothrop	Elk ^a Cushman	
John Thomas	Edward Winslow	
John Watson	Alex ^a Scañell	
Samuel Adams		
M ^r Mellen		} Gentlemen by invitation.
M ^r Wadsworth		
Capt. Matthews		

April 8. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Edward Winslow	} Members.
Tho ^t Lothrop	Elkanah Cushman	
John Thomas	John Watson	
Samuel Adams		

April 15. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Pelham Winslow	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	Elkanah Cushman	
John Thomas	Edward Winslow	
John Watson	Oakes Angier	
Samuel Adams		
Present: Robert Treat Paine Esq ^r		} By invitation.
Cap ^t Nathaniel Little		
Nathan Cushing Esq ^r		
M ^r Ephraim Keith		

April 22. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Pelham Winslow	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	Elkanah Cushman	
John Thomas	John Watson	
Cornelius White		

April 29. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Thomas Lothrop	} Members.
Pelham Winslow	John Thomas	
Elkanah Cushman	Thomas Mayhew	
John Watson	Oakes Angier	
Cornelius White		
Cap ^t Job Williams by invitation.		

May 5. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Pelham Winslow	John Watson	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	John Thomas	
Elkanah Cushman		

May 12. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Pelham Winslow	} Members.
Elkanah Cushman	John Thomas	
Edward Winslow	John Watson	
Cornelius White	Tho ^r Mayhew	

Cap^t Thomas Matthews by invitation.

"The History of King Philip's War," for which the Club subscribed, was this night received, — fourteen books.¹

The following request was sent to the Club by M^r Thomas Foster jun^r: —

To the worthy members of the Old Colony Club:

GENTLEMEN, — Understanding you have a surplusage of the history of Col^d Church, and being very desirous of being the owner of one, and unable to purchase, shall esteem it a very great favor if you in your wonted liberality would bestow one upon your petitioner, who will always gratefully resent the same.²

Your obedient servant,

THOS. FOSTER JUN^r

PLYMOUTH, May 12, 1772.

¹ The edition of Church's History here referred to, of which the Club had subscribed for fourteen copies, was that printed at Newport, Rhode Island, in 1772, — being the second edition, known as Dr. Stiles's edition, its reputed editor. It was entitled "The Entertaining History of King Philip's War," etc. The book was originally published in Boston in 1716, "printed by B. Green," under the title, "Entertaining Passages Relating to Philip's War," etc., — a long title. Its author was Thomas Church, of Little Compton, a son of the hero commemorated. This second edition was embellished with a frightful imaginary picture of King Philip, and also with a picture of Colonel Church, equally imaginary, for it was copied from a picture of Charles Churchill, the poet, with a powder-horn slung around his neck. They are both from the graver of Paul Revere. Both these editions are now rare, copies even of the Newport edition in a perfect state being difficult to procure. A copy of the first edition, rarely seen, brought, in the Brinley sale in 1878, \$150; and copies of the second, or Newport, edition brought, one copy \$20, and one \$9. Not one of those fourteen copies subscribed for by the Club is known to be in existence.

² One is impressed in this letter with the use of a word in the sense it bore many years before this date, — "resent," as expressing a feeling of *thankfulness* or *gratitude*, instead of its opposite, a sense of *injury*. Johnson, who published his Dictionary in 1755, gives both meanings, "to take it well or ill," and says that

Voted, That the prayer of the petition be granted, and that the steward immediately deliver to M^r. Foster one of the books aforesaid.

May 19. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Pelham Winslow
Tho ^s . Lothrop	Elk ^s . Cushman
John Thomas	John Watson
Cornelius White	Tho ^s . Mayhew
Oakes Angier	
Daniel Leonard	
Nathan Cushing Esq ^{rs}	} By invitation.
D ^r . Charles Stockbridge	

May 26. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Pelham Winslow	Tho ^s . Lothrop
Elk ^s . Cushman	John Thomas
John Watson	Cornelius White
Tho ^s . Mayhew	

June 3. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Pelham Winslow	Elk ^s . Cushman
John Thomas	Ed : Winslow
Cornelius White	Tho ^s . Mayhew
D ^r . Charles Stockbridge	by invitation.

"to consider as an injury or affront is now the most usual sense;" and he quotes from Milton's *Paradise Lost*, published in 1667, —

"Thou with scorn
And anger wouldst resent the offered wrong;"

as an instance of the modern use more than one hundred years before this letter was written. Very singularly, another instance of the use of the word in this ancient sense occurs in these Records a little farther on, written a year afterwards by a Duxbury man, while the former instance was from a Plymouth man. The Rev. Charles Turner, the minister of Duxbury, writes: "The request you have been pleased to send me to preach on your next anniversary has been entertained with the most grateful resentments of the immerited honor you have done me thereby." In this sense the phrases "gratefully resent" and "grateful resentments" may seem tautological. The original meaning of the word *resent* is "to have a strong *sense* or feeling of;" and its use here, with the qualifying word preceding it, may be a good example of this early meaning. It may be added that the word *immerited* was equally archaic in 1773, when it was here used.

These survivals, in common use in a community, of ancient forms of speech and meanings of words sometimes imply a healthy conservatism, but often an isolation from the centre of literary influence which silently moulds the language as well as the manners of society. Mr. Foster and Mr. Turner were both graduates of Harvard College: the former, born in Plymouth in 1727 (H. C. 1745), was a school-teacher in Plymouth; the latter, born in Scituate in 1732 (H. C. 1752), was settled as a minister in Duxbury in 1755.

June 10. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Pelham Winslow	John Thomas
Thomas Lothrop	Cornelius White
Elk ^a Cushman	Thomas Mayhew

Simon Pease Esq ^r	} [By invitation.]
John Banister Esq ^r	
M ^r Tho ^s Banister	

June 17. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present same members as last Club night, and Ed. Winslow.

June 24. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present same members as June 10.

Doct ^r Charles Stockbridge &	} By invitation.
Cap ^t Daniel White	
Cap ^t Gideon White	

July 1. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present same members as June 17, except Brother Cushman.

M^r Bartlett LeBaron by invitation.

July 8. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present same members as last Club night.

Sampson Salter Blowers Esq^r and Cap^t Thomas Matthews by invitation.

July 15. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Pelham Winslow	Thomas Lothrop
Elkanah Cushman	John Thomas
Edward Winslow	John Watson
Cornelius White	Tho ^s Mayhew

Thomas Foster Esq^r by invitation.

July 22. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Pelham Winslow	Edward Winslow
Thomas Lothrop	John Watson.
John Thomas	Tho ^s Mayhew

July 29. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Isaac Lothrop, and same as above.

M ^r Samuel Breck	} By invitation.
M ^r Joshua Thomas	
M ^r Joseph Crosswell ¹	
M ^r Abraham Hammatt J ^r	

¹ Mr. Joseph Crosswell, the guest of the Club this evening, was a native of Plymouth, and a son of the Rev. Andrew Crosswell, who in 1748 became pastor

August 5. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present same members as above.

M^r Joseph Crosswell by invitation.

August 12. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present same members as above.

Jon^s Tufts steward *pro tempore*.

August 19. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present same members as July 22, except the President.

August 26. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Thomas Lothrop

Edw^d Winslow.

John Thomas

Tho^s Mayhew

September 2. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Pelham Winslow

John Thomas

Thomas Lothrop

John Watson

Elk^s Cushman

September 9. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present same members as above.

September 16. Present same members.

September 23. Present same members except P. Winslow.

Mess^{rs} John Russell

Tho^s Matthews

} By invitation.

September 30. Present same members except T. Lothrop, J. Watson.

October 7. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Pelham Winslow

Edw^d Winslow

Thomas Lothrop

John Watson

Elk^s Cushman

Oakes Angier

John Thomas

R. T. Paine, D. Leonard Esqr^t, by invitation.

of a church in Boston, occupying the French Protestant meeting-house of M. Le Mercier, whose congregation then gave it up. Joseph was a shop-keeper in Plymouth, but employed his pen. Among the things he wrote is a drama entitled "A new world planted, or the adventures of the Forefathers of New England who landed in Plymouth Dec. 22, 1620 — An historical drama in five acts." One of the characters is Pocahonts, a daughter of Massasoit, with whom that mysterious person, Mr. John Hampden, falls in love. A speech of Elder Brewster forms the Epilogue, in which by a prophetic vision he sees new States arise, and at their head Washington, "a shining chief, appears."

October 14. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.
Present same members except Ed. Winslow.

October 20. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Elk ^s Cushman
Pelham Winslow	Ed. Winslow
Thomas Lothrop	John Watson
John Thomas	

Cap^t Solomon Davis, M^r S. A. Otis, by invitation.

October 27. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.
Present the same members as above, except M^r President.

Cap ^t Samson	} By invitation.
M ^r T. Foster J ^r	

November 3. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.
Present same members as Club night last;
and Cornelius White
Thomas Mayhew

November 10. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.
Present same members as last Club night.
Thomas Foster, Esq^r, by invitation.

November 17. Present same members.

November 24. Present at a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Elk ^s Cushman	Tho ^s Lothrop	} By invitation.
Ed Winslow	John Watson	
John Thomas	Cornel ^s White	
Cap ^t Barnabas Hedge		
M ^r Thomas Wetherel		
M ^r Bartlett LeBaron		

December 2. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.
Present same members.

December 9. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.
Present all but the President and Scammel.

Ephraim Keith Esq ^r	} By invitation.
Robert Treat Paine Esq ^r	
Josiah Sturtevant J ^r Esq ^r	

December 15. At an occasional meeting of Old Colony Club.

Voted that

William Watson Esq ^r	George Watson Esq ^r
Cap ^t Elk ^s Watson	Edw ^d Winslow Esq ^r
Poc ^t Nath ^l Lothrop	Tho ^s Mayhew Esq ^r
Cap ^t Gideon White &	James Hovey Esq ^r
Doc ^t Laz ^s LeBaron	Deacon John Torrey
Thomas Foster Esq ^r	James Warren Esq ^r

be invited to Old Colony Club on Wednesday evening next, then and there to join the Club in proposing a method of celebration of the next 22d of December.

December 16. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Pelham Winslow	Thomas Lothrop
John Thomas	Elk ^s Cushman
Edward Winslow	John Watson
Cornelius White	Tho ^s Mayhew

Thomas Foster, James Hovey, George Watson, Jas. Warren, Thomas Mayhew, William Watson Esq ^r , Cap ^t Gideon White, D ^r William Thomas, D ^r Nathaniel Lothrop	} By invitation.
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Voted by the Club and the above gentlemen :—

1. That a committee be chosen from among the members of this Club to wait on the Rev. M^r Robbins and inform him that it is expected by the gentlemen of this place that he gratify the public by complying with the request of this Club, made in their letter to him, dated the 31st of December, A. D. 1771, "to preach a sermon on the ensuing anniversary," and that (if it be agreeable to him) to begin the service at half after ten o'clock in the forenoon.

2. That the company (together with such other gentlemen as may join us from the neighboring towns) dine together at the house of M^r Howland in Plymouth.

3. That the gentlemen of the clergy belonging to this town (together with those who may be here from the other towns) be invited to dine with the company at M^r Howland's.

After the company withdrew,

Voted by the Club, That Pelham Winslow, John Thomas, and John Watson be a committee to wait on the Rev. M^r Robbins for the purposes mentioned in the before-going vote of the company, and that they also request of M^r Robbins that he would (on the Sabbath preceding the anniversary) notify his church and congregation of our intention to celebrate the said day ; and that they also wait on the Rev. M^r Bacon

and make the same request to him. And they are to make report of their doings to this Club on Monday at eleven o'clock A. M., to which time this Club is adjourned.

December 22. Upon this twenty-second day of December (to show our gratitude to the Creator and Preserver of our ancestors and ourselves, and as a mark of respect most justly due to the memories of those heroic Christians who, on the 22d of December, 1620, landed on this spot) the members of this Club joined a numerous and respectable assembly in the meeting-house of the First Parish in Plymouth, and after an hymn of praise and prayer to God, the reverend M^r Chaudler Robbins delivered an historic and pathetic discourse from these words: "For he established a testimony in Jacob, and appointed a law in Israel, which he commanded our fathers, that they should make them known to their children: that the generation to come might know them, even the children which should be born; who should arise and declare them to their children: that they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep his commandments" (Ps. lxxviii. 5-7).

In which, after enumerating many of the virtues of our predecessors, he recounted their toils, their hazards, and their troubles, in their various attempts to shun the horrors of a despotic power and the curses of an ecclesiastical tyranny, and to obtain a land wherein they might enjoy their religion in its purity, and peace of conscience. His sermon closed with an address to the audience which did honor to humanity and himself; and (by the profound silence and solemn attention which prevailed throughout this vast collection of people of all ages) he must have had the pleasing satisfaction of concluding that he had not spent his strength for nought. The New England Hymn, composed by Doct^r Byles, sung with uncommon melody, finished the exercise.¹

That cheerfulness (the never-failing companion of grateful Christians) might reign among us, the members of the Club, together with the reverend gentlemen of the clergy and others the most respectable of the congregation, repaired to the house of M^r Howland, where a table was spread and abundantly furnished with the various productions of this

¹ The "New England Hymn," by Dr. Byles, was adapted to the tune "America," as published in Billings's Collection of Music, 1770. The first stanza is here given:—

"To Thee the tuneful Anthem Soars,
To Thee, our Fathers God and ours;
This wilderness we chose our Seat:
To Rights Secured by Equal Laws
From Persecution's Iron Claws,
We here have sought our calm Retreat."

(See Russell's Guide to Plymouth, App. p. 16.)

now fruitful country, at which the Hon^{ble} General John Winslow presided. After partaking of these bounties, and spending a few hours in the most social conversation upon the history of our country, the adventures of our ancestors, etc. (subjects at this time peculiarly pleasing), the company proceeded to Old Colony Hall, where the same sociability and harmony prevailed throughout the evening.

December 23. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Pelham Winslow	Thomas Lothrop
Elkanah Cushman	John Thomas
Edward Winslow	John Watson
Cornelius White	Tho ^s Mayhew

December 30. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Pelham Winslow	Elk ^s Cushman
John Thomas	John Watson
Cornelius White	Tho ^s Mayhew
Dea ⁿ John Torrey by invitation.	

1773. January 6. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Isaac Lothrop	Pelham Winslow	} Members.
Elk ^s Cushman	John Thomas	
John Watson	Tho ^s Mayhew	
Doc ^t Lazarus LeBaron	George Watson Esq ^r	} By invitation.
Tho ^s Foster Esq ^r	James Warren Esq ^r	
William Watson Esq ^r	James Hovey Esq ^r	
Dea ⁿ John Torrey	Cap ^t Gideon White	
Doc ^t W ^m Thomas	Doc ^t Nath ^l Lothrop &	
M ^r John Russell	M ^r Eph ^m Spooner	

Voted by the Club and the gentlemen present, That the rev^d M^r Charles Turner of Duxborough be invited to preach the next anniversary sermon, and that the Club write to M^r Turner to inform him of this choice and request an answer.

Vote 2d (by the Club), That Pelham Winslow, Thomas Lothrop, John Thomas, and Edward Winslow be a committee to draught a letter to the rev^d M^r Turner. And that the same committee write a letter of thanks to the rev^d M^r Robbins for his sermon on the 22d ult., and request a copy thereof. The committee to make report at next Club night.

William Watson, Esq^r, presented the Club with a cheese, which was gratefully accepted by them, and the thanks of the Club ordered.

January 13. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Pelham Winslow	Elkanah Cushman	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	Edward Winslow	
John Thomas	John Watson	
Cornelius White	Tho ^t Mayhew	
M ^r Thomas Flucker J ^r		} By invitation.
M ^r Nath ^l Thomas J ^r		

The committee chosen to draught the letter to the Rev. M^r Turner reported the following:—

REVEREND AND RESPECTED SIR,—The members of this Society beg leave to acquaint you that they have for several years past kept and observed the 22d of December in commemoration of the landing and settlement of our worthy and pious ancestors in this place, to take notice of and extol their many brave and heroic exploits, their piety and unparalleled resolution and perseverance through numberless dangers and difficulties, and to rejoice and be thankful for the remarkable and signal interpositions of Providence in their behalf; which we apprehend ourselves in duty as well as gratitude bound to observe, for the privileges, benefits, and advantages derived to us from those noble and godlike patriots with so much danger, toil, and expense to themselves.

This practice has met with the approbation and concurrence of the principal gentlemen of this and the neighboring towns, and has also had the sanction of the pulpit, the Rev. M^r Robbins of this town having, on the 22d of December last, favored us with a sermon suitable to that occasion. And as it is proposed that this practice should, if possible, be continued down to the latest posterity, at a late meeting of this Club and a considerable number of the gentlemen of this town, it was voted that you, sir, should be requested to preach a sermon on the next anniversary. Your compliance we doubt not will oblige the community in general, and in particular your most obedient humble servants, the members of

THE OLD COLONY CLUB.

P. S. Please, sir, to favor us with an answer as soon as you conveniently can.

OLD COLONY HALL, Jan. 13, 1773.

The Committee reported the following letter to the Rev. M^r Robbins:

REVEREND SIR,—The members of this Society, deeply impressed with a sense of gratitude for your obliging compliance with their request to preach a sermon in commemoration of the settlement of our ancestors in this place, beg leave to return our sincere thanks for your entertaining and instructive discourse of the 22d December last, and in

order to perpetuate the many pertinent observations therein contained, would modestly request a copy, that the rising generation may have a better opportunity of being benefited and instructed, which you justly observed was the more immediate design of the discourse.

We are with all due respect your most humble servants,

THE OLD COLONY CLUB.

The foregoing letters were accepted and ordered to be sent.

A letter in answer to the above was received, directed "To the Gentlemen of the Old Colony Club, Plymouth."

RESPECTED GENTLEMEN, — Having just received your obliging favor (being from home when it was sent), I take this opportunity to acknowledge my obligations for your kind acceptance of my endeavors to gratify the members of your Society and others in the sermon you refer to. The subject is so well known and handled in the printed memoirs of those times, that a publication of the discourse seems needless, and I fear will never answer your expectations and the end you propose. I shall, however, not be averse to gratify your request for a copy, if it shall be judged any way likely to afford any entertainment to the rising generation, and ask the favor of a little further time to think of the affair, and am with respect,

Gentlemen, your friend and humble servant,

C. ROBBINS.

PLYMOUTH, Jan. 13, 1773.

January 13. Upon a settlement of the accounts of the Club for the last year, there appears to be a balance in the hands of the steward of £2. 16. 1½.

Voted (in consideration of there being a considerable balance in the hand of the steward), That he take from the several members but one pistareen per night for the last quarter; and that he continue this practice until the further order of the Club.

Voted, That the steward forthwith collect the several sums due from the respective members, and carry the same to the Club's credit.

Voted, That the steward cause to be made a circular window over the front door of the Hall, and report the expense.

This thirteenth day of January, 1773 (being the fourth year since the institution of the Old Colony Club), with gratitude let it be acknowledged, that as a society and as individuals we have enjoyed health, harmony, and happiness without interruption, excepting the fraternal sorrow occasioned by the death of our brother Samuel Adams, which happened at Cape Nichola Mole,¹ the fifth day of August last. The integrity and uprightness of his conduct, together with his assiduity

¹ Cape St. Nichola (or Nicholas) Mole is the extreme northwest cape of Haiti.

and industry in business, rendered him a useful man in the community ; and his natural facetiousness and affability, a valuable member of this Club.

January 20. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Pelham Winslow	Edward Winslow	} Members.
Thomas Lothrop	John Watson	
Elk ^s Cushman	Cornelius White	
John Thomas	Thomas Mayhew	
Thomas Flucker J ^r	} By invitation.	
Cap ^t Gideon White		
Nath ^l Thomas J ^r		

January 27. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present same members as last Club night.

M^r W^m LeBaron by invitation.

The following letter from the Rev. M^r Charles Turner was communicated by the President *pro tempore*, and ordered to be recorded : —

DUXBOROUGH, 21 Jan., 1773.

HONORED GENTLEMEN, — The request you have been pleased to send me, to preach on your next anniversary, has been entertained with the most grateful resentments of the immerited honor you have done me thereby. Though conscious of my inability to serve you in such a manner as might be desired, deep regard to the precious memory of your justly renowned progenitors, to their excellent cause, to their posterity, and particularly to yourselves, has prevailed with me to consent to your motion, and determine, if my life is spared, to serve you in the best manner I can ; meanwhile acknowledging the politeness of your giving me so seasonable notice. The celebration of our ancestry must be dutiful, advantageous, and agreeable, but cannot be totally exempt from uneasiness. Therein a mixture of passions may naturally and justly, as well as deeply, affect the mind. Our forefathers' success in their arduous enterprise, inferring the blessings thence accruing to their descendants, may give us the highest pleasure. Their sufferings and perils penetrate our filial hearts with the most painful sensations ; the supposition that they had all been left to perish in their undertaking fills us with strange horror not easily to be described ; their heroism and invincible perseverance in the noblest of causes captivate us with pleasing and respectful admiration, and invite us to imbibe their martyr-like heavenly character ; and the signal interposition of Divine Providence in their behalf commands our highest religious grateful astonishment. Your design of an annual religious commemoration of the things which God performed for our fathers, and by their means for us, is undoubtedly commendable. It may answer valuable purposes, besides

its being in itself agreeable. One valuable purpose it will indeed answer, if it may be blessed to promote such a spirit as that whereby, under divine influence, our ancestors were animated. I am, gentlemen, with great respect,

Your most obedient very humble servant,

CHARLES TURNER.

Directed: To the Gentlemen the Members of the Old Colony Club, Plymouth.
To be left at the Honb^{le} James Warren Esq^r

February 3. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Pelham Winslow	Tho ^t Lothrop
Elk ^s Cushman	John Thomas
John Watson	Cornelius White
Tho ^t Mayhew	
M ^r John Russell by invitation.	

February 10. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present same members.

M^r Sam^l Jackson and Cap^t Hedge by invitation.

February 17. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present same members and Ed: Winslow.

Edward Winslow Esq ^r	} By invitation.
Nath ^l Ray Thomas Esq ^r	
& M ^r Lazarus Goodwin	

February 24. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Pelham Winslow	Elk ^s Cushman
Edward Winslow	John Thomas
John Watson	

The following letter, together with the Anniversary sermon in manuscript, was this night received from the Rev. M^r Robbins:—

PLYMOUTH, Feb. 23, 1773.

FRIENDS AND GENTLEMEN, — Having considered your request to me for a copy of my sermon preached the last anniversary, etc., partly from the desire of others who can never expect that benefit from the larger histories of those times which you, gentlemen, and many others may enjoy, but chiefly in gratification of the request of your Society, to whom I acknowledge myself under obligations for their candor and respect, I now present you a copy of said sermon, with liberty to make what use of it you shall think proper, and am, gentlemen, with much esteem,

Your obliged friend and humble servant,

C. ROBBINS.

THE OLD COLONY CLUB.

March 3. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Pelham Winslow	Tho: Lothrop
Elkanah Cushman	John Thomas
Edward Winslow	Cornelius White
John Watson	Tho: Mayhew
M: Thomas Doten	} [By invitation.]
M: Bartlett LeBaron	
M: Thomas Foster junr	

March 10. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present the same members as last Club night.

The Social Club by invitation.

March 17. At a meeting of Old Colony Club:

Present same members as last Club night.

November 24. Whereas the records of this Club have been neglected from the 17th March last to this time, and as no remarkable event or new regulations have taken place: Voted, That the Secretary continue the records as formerly, and from this time make the entries at every Club night.

At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Pelham Winslow	Ed Winslow	} Members.
Elkanah Cushman	John Watson	
John Thomas	Cornelius White	
M: Sam: Prince, Boston	} By invitation.	
Cap: Gideon White		

James Warren, Esq^r, Mess^{rs} John Torrey, and Thomas Jackson came into our said Club, and said that they were a sub-committee (appointed by the Committee of Correspondence and Communication of this town) for the purpose of informing this Club of the determination of the said Committee of Correspondence relative to the celebration of the next 22d of December, and to request that the Club would join with and conform thereto.¹

¹ As early as November, 1772, at a legal meeting of the town of Plymouth, the petition of Thomas Jackson and one hundred other inhabitants was read, setting forth the alarming situation of the country in consequence of the tyrannical measures of the British Parliament, and praying that the town would take the subject into consideration. It was thereon voted to choose a "Standing Committee of Correspondence and Communication," to correspond with the town of Boston, or any other town, on the subject of their present difficulties and of the measures proper to be taken on the occasion, to apply to the Selectmen to call a town-meeting, and to act and do what further they may think proper. The following persons were chosen to compose the Committee: James Warren, John Torrey, Stephen Sampson, Samuel Cole, Ephraim Cobb, Dr. William Thomas,

Voted, That the consideration of this matter be adjourned to the next Club night, and that then a written answer be prepared, and on the Monday night following be presented to the Committee.

Thomas Jackson, Elkanah Watson, William Watson, Thomas Lothrop, Nathaniel Torrey, Thomas Mayhew, Isaac Lothrop.

The three gentlemen above named were, as they themselves declared, a sub-committee from this larger committee of the town, who probably were unwilling to allow the coming anniversary to pass without using it as an occasion for stimulating the patriotism of the citizens in the present emergency. They therefore proposed to take the celebration into their own hands, and to ask the Club to unite with them. The spirited answer of the Club to this request is on record. It will be noticed that the names of Isaac Lothrop and Thomas Lothrop, the President and Secretary of the Club, were included among the members of this Committee of the town, who had sent their sub-committee with their errand to the Club. No doubt the political lines during the year had been sharply drawn. Originally the Club had consisted of fully one-half Loyalists, or members who became so as the difficulties with the mother-country increased. By the withdrawal of some members from the town, and the non-attendance of others of the patriot party, the Loyalists finally represented almost the entire attendance. Of course the Club was not a political body. It originated from a wish for a more refined social intercourse; that is, for edification and improvement. But a political revolution was coming on, and that is inevitably accompanied by bitter personal and social estrangement. As the Whigs or patriots always took the initiative in political action, so in this Club the Whig members withdrew and left its fate in the hands of the Loyalists. (See Thacher's Plymouth, p. 197.)

This was just the time of the excitement in Boston occasioned by the expected arrival of the East India Company's tea ships, which Plymouth largely shared. At a meeting of the inhabitants of the town in December, strong resolutions on the subject were adopted; and at an adjourned meeting on the 13th of the same month, Edward Winslow, the father of Edward, Jr., of this Club, and others presented a protest against the proceedings of that meeting, which the town voted not to have read.

Not long afterward the patriotism of the people of the town took a singular direction. The inhabitants resolved to consecrate the Rock on which the Forefathers landed to the cause of liberty; and not reflecting that such a dedication could be as effectually made while the Rock lay in its original bed as if it were transported elsewhere, they assembled with twenty yoke of oxen to remove it. It was raised from its bed by means of large screws, and in the attempt to mount it on the carriage, it split asunder without violence from a flaw which no one had observed. Finally they allowed the bottom part of the stone to drop into its original bed; while the upper part, weighing many tons, was hauled to "Liberty Pole Square," in front of the meeting-house, where a flag was placed over it. Dr. Thacher, at pages 198, 199, of his History, places this in the year 1774. A memorandum on Blaskowitz's map in Pilgrim Hall, supposed to be in Edward Winslow Jr.'s hand, is as follows, referring to the place of the landing: "The place where the settlers above mentioned first landed upon the main, Dec. 22d N. S. 1620, upon a large Rock, which, in the course of time, being buried in sand, was by a grateful posterity dug up and transferred to a more public situation, Anno Domini, 1775." Here this fragment remained, being subject to abrasion and chippings by relic-hunters, till July 4, 1834, when it was removed to Pilgrim Hall, and placed in front of that building under the charge of the Pilgrim Society; and an iron railing was placed around it. Finally, in 1880, it was drawn

Voted, That Pelham Winslow, John Thomas, and John Watson be a committee to prepare an answer in writing, and report at the next Club night.

December 1. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.

Present: Pelham Winslow	Edward Winslow	} Members.
Elkanah Cushman	John Watson	
John Thomas	Cornelius White	

Doct^r Isaac Winslow by invitation.

The Committee chosen at the last Club night to prepare an answer to the Committee of Correspondence reported the following, which, being read and considered, was accepted and ordered to be recorded:—

To the Committee of Communication and Correspondence of the Town of Plymouth:

GENTLEMEN, — The Old Colony Club received your message by your sub-committee, with your determination in what way and manner the ensuing anniversary of the 22d of December shall be solemnized and celebrated, with a request that we would join with and conform thereto. We have fully, liberally, and candidly considered thereof, and in answer would observe that this Club are not, nor ever have been, anxious or desirous of taking the lead and direction or marshalling and regulating the public solemnities and particular rites and ceremonies of that important day, having always invited the gentlemen of the town to a consultation previous to any determination, and having ever acted by and with the advice and consent of the gentlemen present, and not *ex parte*, as may appear from the records of our proceedings on those occasions. Justice to ourselves, however, emboldens us to say that, as we were the first institutors of this festival, and as no event has taken place to lessen our dignity or consequence as a Club since the last anniversary, we have a right to be consulted on the manner of celebrating it, whether the same be taken into consideration by the gentlemen of the town, county, or colony. As gentlemen of the town we will not dispute your right of acting in this matter in conjunction with others. But as a Committee of Correspondence, etc. (in whose name and capacity you have accosted us), we absolutely deny your jurisdiction and authority. By the records of this town it appears that you were chosen "to communicate and correspond with the town of Boston and other towns;" and in this business we would not interrupt or molest you. But we apprehend that your constituents had no more idea or suspicion of your interfering in these

back and placed in its original bed, and joined on again to the lower fragment, from which it was separated more than one hundred years before. A granite canopy now shelters the Rock, once more entire; and iron gates secure it from lawless visitors.

matters (as a Committee of Correspondence) than they had of your regulating or altering their creed or their catechism. And it appears to us that you have just the same right to meddle with the one as the other; or indeed to determine any civil, religious, or military matter that has, or may arise within our town. This partial and extra-judicial way of proceeding we apprehend will have a tendency to promote parties and divisions (which have already too long harassed and convulsed this once peaceful town), rather than that concord and harmony so necessary to the welfare of all societies. But should we admit your right of acting as a Committee of Correspondence, we cannot suppose so great an absurdity as the counteracting your own vote and determination without some sufficient reason. You must remember that these matters were fairly discussed and settled by the gentlemen of the town in general and the members of this Club, and that by and with the consent, approbation, and vote of a majority of the now members of your Committee. For at a meeting of a large and respectable number of the gentlemen of this town with the Club at Old Colony Hall, on the sixth day of January last, for the very purposes of adjusting and settling the matters relative to the celebration of the ensuing anniversary (among whom were a major part of your Committee), it was unanimously voted "That the Club should write to the Rev. M^r Turner and request him to preach a sermon on the next 22d of December," etc.; in consequence of which the Club wrote to M^r Turner, and afterwards received his answer in the affirmative (directed to the Club), as may also appear by our record. At the same meeting it was also moved and agreed to, that (as the Club were the original institutors) it was most proper for them to have the direction of the minutiae or lesser matters relative to the celebration. We are now, and always have been, ready and willing to concur with any measure which may conduce to the harmonious and agreeable celebration of this anniversary in commemoration of the landing of our forefathers in this place. We think it ought, and we hope it ever will be kept and observed by the gentlemen of this town, county, and colony, socially and like a band of brethren; nor would we contend for trifles or punctilios. But your plan and proceedings, without advising with or consulting the other gentlemen of the town or the Club, appears to us so great an invasion of the liberties and privileges of the gentlemen of the town of Plymouth and the Old Colony Club, that we cannot approve or comply with the same.

DEC. 1, 1773.

December 8. At a meeting of Old Colony Club.

Present: Elkanah Cushman	Edward Winslow
John Thomas	John Watson
Cornelius White	

M^r Prince, Cap^t Churchill, by invitation.

Voted, That the Club, together with such gentlemen as please to join them, from this or the neighboring towns, will dine together at M^r Wethrel's upon the ensuing anniversary, and that the clerk of this Club send a copy of this vote to the Rev. M^r Turner and inform him that the Club expect the pleasure of his company on that day.

Voted, That the Club and their friends will spend the anniversary evening at the Hall.

Voted, That the Rev. M^r Bacon and the Rev. M^r Robbins, and also the Social Club, be invited to dine and spend the evening, as also such other gentlemen of the clergy as may be in town.

December 15. At a meeting of the Old Colony Club.¹

Present: Pelham Winslow	Elkanah Cushman	
Edward Winslow	John Thomas	
John Watson	Cornelius White	
Edward Winslow	M ^r W ^m Trenholm	} By invitation
Robert Treat Paine	A stranger	
Daniel Leonard, Esq ^{rs}	Cap ^t Gideon White	
M ^r Sam ^l Prince		

¹ These Records closing with December 15, 1773, we have no account here of the celebration of the anniversary on the 22d. It is well known that Mr. Turner delivered the address or sermon, as he had agreed to, — for it was published, and a copy is in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, — but whether under the auspices of the Club or of the Town the titlepage does not tell us. The title is, "A Sermon preached at Plymouth December 22d, 1773, Being the anniversary Thanksgiving, in Commemoration of the Landing of the Fathers there, A. D. 1620. By Charles Turner, A. M." etc. Boston, 1774. Dr. Thacher, however, in his History of Plymouth, pp. 339, 340, in a list of preachers and orators at Plymouth on the anniversary celebrations, says, under 1773. "By Charles Turner, — For Old Colony Club. By the Town and by the first Parish;" so that no doubt the sermon was preached before the Club, and the town and First Parish participated in the celebration. From this time to the year 1780, the anniversary was celebrated by the town with a discourse; and also from 1794 to 1819. In 1820 the day was celebrated for the first time by the Pilgrim Society, when the oration was delivered by the Hon. Daniel Webster.

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